

CAMPAIGN '92 / REPUBLICAN ASSAULT

ELECTION NOTES

A Charge of 'Stonewalling' on Iraqi Aid Issue

WASHINGTON — The Bush administration's refusal to appoint an independent prosecutor to investigate secret U.S. aid to Iraq before the Gulf War will not entirely spare President George Bush added political embarrassment in this year's campaign.

Democrats immediately attacked the decision as part of a politically motivated cover-up. Representative Jack Brooks, Democrat of Texas and chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, said Attorney General William P. Barr's refusal to act was "stonewalling, plain and simple."

Governor Bill Clinton, the Democratic presidential candidate, said he was "really troubled" by the refusal. "It appears there is a lot of evidence there, and I understand the attorney general thought there wasn't enough evidence," Mr. Clinton said.

In his combative response to House Democrats, who pressed for the appointment of a special prosecutor, Mr. Barr said: "The criteria for invoking the independent counsel statute are not present." He said that the Democrats had offered "vague and conclusory allegations" that were "wholly inadequate" to justify the request for a special prosecutor. (NYT)

Quayle Sides With Ranchers on Species Act

LINDEN, California — Speaking to a group of ranchers during a campaign trip here, Vice President Dan Quayle said, "We're on your side" and that the Democrats were not.

Mr. Quayle said a Clinton administration would toughen the Endangered Species Act, which ranchers, loggers and others have complained is interfering with their livelihood. "They talk about putting people first," Mr. Quayle said. "Well, they put people first unless you happen to be a spotted owl or a giant garter snake."

Mr. Quayle said President George Bush is considering whether to propose changes to soften the impact of the act.

"Obviously, you take the bald eagle and things of that sort — of course you're going to make sure that they are saved," Mr. Quayle said. "But others, we just need a little flexibility."

"We're on your side," he assured the ranchers. But afterward, he raised some eyebrows by referring to the ranchers as "farmers." (AP)

Bush Cranks Sluggish Campaign Up a Notch

WASHINGTON — His speeches are getting sharper, more partisan, more laden with red-meat lines and tough-guy attitude. His surrogates are taking on Bill Clinton with more gusto and fewer stumbles. President George Bush finally seems to be entering what he calls the campaign mode.

For his fellow Republicans, it is not a moment too soon. Mr. Bush's campaign has been a series of missed opportunities to make the case for a second term, but he cannot afford to fumble the next two weeks.

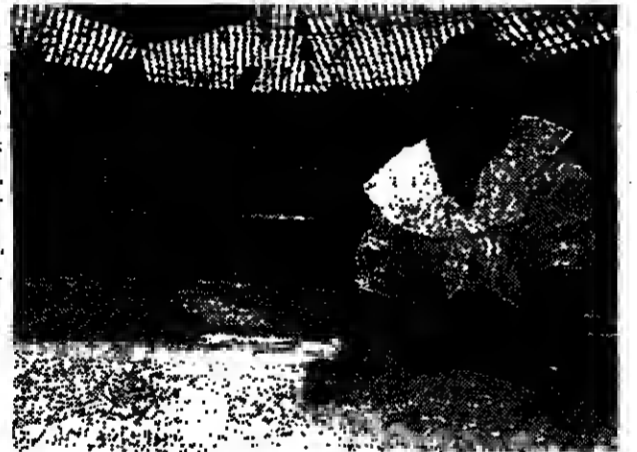
The Republican convention begins Monday, and the most recent spate of polls shows Mr. Clinton still holding on to a lead of about 20 points.

By contrast, four years ago the Bush campaign had cut Michael S. Dukakis' lead from 17 percentage points to 7 in the three weeks between the conventions.

Republicans know that 1992 is a year of great swings in the polls, but they are ready for the next swing now, please.

After a month of anxiety and outbursts of outright despair, they do see a few reasons for hope. Some believe that Mr. Bush is finally beginning to energize the Republican base with his portrait of Mr. Clinton as a man just itching to cut the military, raise taxes and turn the health-care system into some Kafkaesque Department of Motor Vehicles and Medical Procedures.

On the organizational front, some senior Republicans expect an official announcement by the end of this week that Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d is finally returning to the White House to oversee the campaign. "You can't go through the convention with this kind of uncertainty, and it will give a lift to insiders at least," said a Republican strategist. (NYT)



A member of the Republican committee in the Houston Astrodome checking a seating diagram for the convention.

Family-Leave Vote Creates an Election Issue

WASHINGTON — The Senate approved a family-leave bill, sending the measure back to the House and setting the stage for a campaign-season veto battle with President George Bush.

The bill, similar to one Mr. Bush vetoed two years ago, would require large employers to provide workers with up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave per year for the birth or adoption of a child, or in the case of serious illness of the employee or a close family member. The bill would exempt employers with 50 or fewer employees. Workers who take advantage of the leave would have their jobs protected in their absence. (AP)

Who's Been Saying All Those Nice Things?

WASHINGTON — Maybe this won't be the nastiest presidential campaign in recent memory. Despite what their handlers have been spewing out, the few personal remarks the candidates have made about each other have been surprisingly complimentary.

Here was George Bush on Bill Clinton last week in a USA Today interview: "He's done some good things." "In terms of personal kind of guy, nice fellow." "I give him a little credit on some of the things that we worked on." And here was Mr. Clinton on Mr. Bush during a television interview in May: "I've always liked him and Mrs. Bush personally." "It's not a problem of being a bad person."

On the other hand, as the Mafia chief Vito Corleone said in "The Godfather," it's not personal, it's business. (WPT)

Quote-Unquote

John Sears, who was Ronald Reagan's campaign manager, on what George Bush must do to win re-election: "I really think he has to address himself to the next four years. If the issue continues to be his stewardship during the last four years, I think the polls indicate that people want to vote him out." (HHT)

Away From the Hustings

- In a telling sign of the decline of nuclear power, the directors of a utility in Oregon voted to retire a problem-plagued nuclear plant in 1996, halfway through its planned life of 40 years, because operating it is no longer considered worth the cost.
- Four white Los Angeles police officers pleaded not guilty to federal civil-rights charges in the videotaped beating of Rodney G. King, a black motorist. The pleas came three months after the riots that followed the officers' acquittal on state charges in the same beating.
- Three Chicago officials who removed a painting that showed former Mayor Harold Washington dressed in lingerie violated the artist's constitutional rights, a federal judge ruled.
- At least 164 police officers may have developed cancer from being exposed to erratic microwave radiation from traffic radar guns, a researcher for the National Fraternal Order of Police told a Senate committee.
- About half of the nation's school buses are being recalled for fuel-system modifications to correct possible fire hazards. Navistar International Corp. previously announced that fuel systems would have to be modified on at least 24,000 school buses. Further tests show that the modification is needed on all 185,000 of the company's buses built since Sept. 1, 1978. (AP, UPI, NYT)

Flak Flies Anew on Economy Attack Intensifies On Clinton Plan

By Dan Balz

WASHINGTON — In a coordinated effort to shift the terms of the presidential debate, the Republicans have opened an assault on the economic program of Bill Clinton, the Democratic nominee, hoping to paint the Arkansas governor as an opponent of economic growth whose policies would mean the loss of more than 2 million jobs over four years.

But Mr. Clinton's campaign advisers are countering, charging the Republicans with distorting their estimates of the plan to cover up the lack of a plan of their own "to get the economy moving."

Sensing that Mr. Clinton's plan, not specific in some key areas, is vulnerable to attack, the Republicans have produced a blizzard of reports, rhetoric and statistics to undermine the Democrats' assertion that they, not the Republicans, would be the party of economic growth.

The Republicans said that Mr. Clinton's claims of deficit reduction, growth and new jobs were "specious" and that his plan would have a destructive effect on the economy. "We simply believe that this plan doesn't hold water in any facet of the projections," said Clayton K. Yeutter, Mr. Bush's top White House domestic adviser.

Campaigning in New York and Pennsylvania, Mr. Clinton taunted the president, asking him to explain what he stands for. "What are you going to do for America if you win?" Mr. Clinton said.

The Republicans have criticized Mr. Clinton's economic plan for several weeks. But this week's orchestrated attack represented a dramatic increase in intensity that reflected Republican anxiety about the large lead Mr. Clinton has opened up in the polls.

The reports, one by the Republican staff of the Joint Economic Committee prepared for Representative Richard K. Arney, Republican of Texas, and the other issued by the Bush-Quayle committee, were far more detailed than anything the Republicans have produced to date. Their critiques covered a wide variety of issues, but the main points fall under several broad categories.

The Republicans say Mr. Clinton's call for \$150 billion in new taxes over four years on wealthy individuals and corporations represents the largest tax increase in history. But the Clinton camp says the Republicans do not take into account that his economic plan includes individual tax cuts of about \$60 billion over the same period, offsetting some of the tax increases.

In any event, Clinton aides say, the largest tax increase in U.S. history was signed into law by President Ronald Reagan in 1982. That law produced tax increases of \$214 billion over five years. The 1982 tax increase followed a huge tax cut bill signed by Mr. Reagan the previous year that reduced taxes by more than \$700 billion over the same span.

Clinton aides counter that the giant deficits that hamstringing the economy today are the result of that 1981 tax cut.

The two campaigns disagree significantly on the number of jobs Mr. Clinton's proposed \$200 billion in spending on public works and infrastructure would produce.

The Clinton camp, citing estimates by the firm of R.L. McGraw-Hill Inc., said each \$1 billion in such spending would produce 50,000 jobs. The Republicans said Mr. Clinton's plan would produce only about 12,000 jobs for each \$1 billion in public investment. But Lowell Gallaway, a visiting scholar at the Joint Economic Committee, acknowledged that the committee had underestimated the amount of yearly investment spending Mr. Clinton has proposed.

The Republicans argue that Mr. Clinton's deficit-reduction plan is a phony, based on vague promises and weak assumptions, a charge made by some outside economists in the past. Mr. Clinton's camp defended its budget cuts, in part by charging Mr. Bush with letting the national debt balloon by 41 percent.

The Joint Economic Committee document said the first-year impact of Mr. Clinton's proposals would mean the loss of 1.8 million jobs. The Bush campaign said that over four years, Mr. Clinton's policies would result in 2.6 million fewer jobs. The Clinton camp said those estimates are flawed, that they ignore some of the job-creation measures Mr. Clinton has proposed and in some cases are based on faulty assumptions. If the most commonly repeated word in the Republican documents was "tax," the most commonly used word in the Clinton response was "lie."

The biggest single impact on jobs, the Republicans say, comes from Mr. Clinton's health-care proposals. He advocates cost-control measures and a phased expansion of coverage so that eventually all Americans would have health-care protection. He has argued that the money saved from cost-containment will be enough to finance universal coverage.



Al Gore, right, the Democratic vice presidential nominee, with his own running mate, Mayor Raymond Flynn, in Boston on Tuesday.

Trouble for Bush on the Christian Right

By Thomas B. Edsall

WASHINGTON — A bitter dispute within the leadership of the conservative Christian movement over administration policy on homosexual rights is damaging President George Bush's efforts to secure the Republican base on the religious right.

Officials of two major Christian organizations — the Southern Baptist Convention and the National Association of Evangelicals — have become increasingly vocal critics not only of Mr. Bush in his refusal to take a stronger stand against gay rights, but also of political-religious leaders who have lined up behind him. Such leaders include Pat Robertson, the television evangelist and businessman; Jerry Falwell, the former leader of the Moral Majority; and Beverly LaHaye of Concerned Women of America.

"The fight for the soul of the Republican Party is happening in July and August of 1992, rather than in the winter and spring of '96," the new presidential election, said James A. Smith, director of government relations for the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention. Mr. Smith described Mr. Bush's unwillingness to take a hard-line stand against homosexual rights as "pathetic."

Mr. Robertson, Mr. Falwell and Miss LaHaye, now under attack from the right by those accusing them of selling out Christian principle

for political gain, were leaders of the conservative Christian movement in the 1980s.

"These leaders are courted by political leaders, and eventually they get caught up in the politics of it all," said Richard C. Cizik, policy analyst for the National Association of Evangelicals. "They run the risk of getting caught up in the delusion of power. We should be biblical people first, not Republican people first."

Mr. Smith and Mr. Cizik, along with others in their organizations, contend that the president's endorsement of traditional family values amounts to only rhetoric. They are pressing the president to issue an executive order affirming the traditional family structure — a man and woman united in matrimony and willing to take on the responsibility of parenthood — and to promise to veto legislation that grants civil rights protections to homosexuals on the basis of their sexual orientation.

In an effort to quiet the dispute, Mr. Bush has written Richard D. Land, director of the Christian Life Commission, declaring his belief "that, in large measure, America has been successful and strong because of the millions of families who affirm those values, in the traditional pattern of a man and a woman, united in marriage, committed to each other and to their children."

Charles Black, a strategist for the Bush campaign, said the president's position on the sex lives of government employees and political

appointees is that he "is not going to investigate people's private lives or to demand to know sexual preference before he appoints people."

"But he is going to appoint people who do represent his views on family values," Mr. Black said. "People who openly advocate gay life styles are not prime candidates for jobs."

The conflict reflects the difficulties of the Republican Party as it struggles under Mr. Bush to revive a majority coalition of factions that often hold conflicting views on social issues from abortion to civil rights.

Evangelical and born-again Christian voters are a critical element in Republican calculations for victory in November. Mr. Bush must win decisive majorities among these voters if he is to restore the party's Southern base.

While extensive polling data on born-again Christian voters is scarce, a firm specializing in marketing in the Christian community, the Barna Research Group, said a survey found Mr. Bush and Governor Bill Clinton, the Democratic nominee, deadlocked among these religious voters.

The polling data underscores for Mr. Bush "how severely his religious base has eroded," said George Barna of the research organization.

In addition, Mark DeMoss, a spokesman for Mr. Falwell, warned that in contrast with the elections of 1984 and 1988, many conservative religious leaders are not actively working for Mr. Bush.

Foley's Post As Speaker No Longer In Doubt

By Kenneth J. Cooper

WASHINGTON — Thomas S. Foley, the House speaker, whose leadership tottered in the spring during the House Bank scandal, has restored his standing with most Democratic members and appears headed for re-election to the post without a serious challenge, House sources say.

In response to methodical politicking by Mr. Foley in recent months, a majority of Democratic Caucus members have agreed to vote for him as speaker in the next Congress, these sources said. They also said Mr. Foley, from Washington state, enjoys a cushion of additional pledges from more than a dozen party nominees who are likely to win House seats in heavily Democratic districts.

The assumption that Mr. Foley's re-election is virtually assured contrasts with doubts about his future expressed during the public outcry about members' overdrafts at the now-closed House Bank. One Democrat, Representative John W. Bryant of Texas, went on the House floor in April and called on Mr. Foley to step down because he "refuses to be a political leader."

Mr. Foley has benefited from the uneven impact of the House Bank as a political issue, the absence of a plausible alternative as speaker and the emergence of the Democratic nominee, Bill Clinton, as a strong contender for the White House, several House Democrats observed.

The public sniping at Mr. Foley has dropped to whispers as Democratic members have focused on their own re-elections, the Clinton campaign and legislation.

"He's enormously strong right now," said Representative William B. Richardson, Democrat of New Mexico. "He could beat any member one-on-one, decisively."

Mr. Foley said only that his political overtures had received "a very positive response."

The speaker said he expected to have consulted virtually every Democratic member by the time the House takes its August recess Wednesday.

"The mood is much more optimistic, much more confident," than during the spring, Mr. Foley added.

Republicans Veto Move to Moderate Abortion Stance

Los Angeles Times Service

HOUSTON — After a one-sided and impassioned debate waged on both political and moral grounds, a Republican Party platform subcommittee has voted overwhelmingly against efforts to moderate the party's long-standing opposition to abortion.

Despite the 17-to-3 vote against her cause, Ann Stone, chairman of Republicans for Choice, vowed to renew her efforts before the full 107-member platform committee. The finished document would then be submitted to the Republican National Convention, which opens here Monday.

It was questionable whether abortion-rights advocates have enough strength to carry their fight to the floor of the convention itself. Miss Stone said after the session Monday that her side could count on only 25 votes on the full committee, two short of the 25 percent required to get a minority report debated on the floor.

The 1992 draft platform, which closely tracks anti-abortion language in Republican platforms since 1980, declares "the unborn child has a fundamental right to life which cannot be infringed," reaffirms support for an anti-abortion amendment to the constitution and urges the appointment of judges "who respect traditional family values and the sanctity of innocent human life."

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INTERNATIONAL **Herald Tribune**

Inaction Is Immoral

How many more echoes of horror do Western societies need to hear? Sealed rail cars, ethnic cleansing, concentration camps, Genocidal aggression and callous indifference did not end with the Nazis. The plague has risen with Serbia's devastation of defenseless Bosnia. Unless the world acts forcefully, and fast, many more will die — and the contagion will spread.

As Margaret Thatcher rightly reminds Americans, inaction is immoral. When many risk sounding like Neville Chamberlain in 1938, Lady Thatcher's words sound positively Churchillian.

Yet the most that the United Nations Security Council can bring itself to do even now is authorize the use of force to feed the victims — and nothing to protect them from Serbian aggressors. Indeed, the United States, Britain and others are using fine-sounding UN resolutions as an excuse to temporize. They have called for an arms embargo, a cease-fire and negotiations. But those estimable goals would have the effect of selling out Bosnia.

An embargo would block the flow of arms only to encircled Bosnia, leaving it defenseless. A cease-fire in place would leave Serbs and Croats in control of most of Bosnia. Negotiations under these conditions would force the hapless Bosnians to capitulate to the strong.

With so many other lands newly seething with ethnic passions, Bosnia's fate hangs with wider relevance. Boris Yeltsin, for instance, is bravely standing up to a resive Russian army that wants to exploit ethnic divisions in Moldova, much as the Serb-dominated Yugoslav army has done in Bosnia.

For the United Nations to assure humanitarian relief to besieged Sarajevo is the least of what is needed. An array of further actions, well short of some potential quagmire, are available.

For instance, the United Nations could begin resolutely by suspending its embargo on arms to Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia are geographically positioned to run that embargo, but not defenseless Bosnia. Arming its government would at least help it to stand off the aggressors and break the siege.

A cease-fire now would only reward Serbia's land grab and ethnic cleansing. So would a settlement. Both would leave the Serbs, a third of Bosnia's people, in possession of two-thirds of its territory. Muslims, 44 percent, would be left with just 5 percent of the land.

The United Nations could instead insist on a settlement that preserves Bosnia's territorial integrity and provides security for its minorities to return home and live side by side as they have for centuries, before Serbia's aggression. That might require a new form of temporary trusteeship.

In any case, those responsible for ethnic cleansing and concentration camps can be punished for violating the Fourth Geneva Convention. "You can get yourself hung for running a concentration camp," says Senator Pat Moynihan.

The humane, honorable — moral — course for the United States and its allies is to stop hiding behind disaster relief and work for real relief, by arming the lawfully elected government of Bosnia and helping to disarm those who would destroy it.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES

Meanwhile, in Africa

When it comes to the horrors of civil war, widespread human suffering and atrocities against the innocent, war-torn Liberia has seen it all. That there is now a fragile peace following the deaths and displacement of thousands of Liberians is a tribute to international peacekeepers who intervened at the height of the crisis.

But, unlike the result hoped for in Bosnia, the ending of the carnage in Liberia has come not as the result of intervention by the United Nations or by expressions of outrage by Western leaders, U.S. presidential candidates or an aroused international opinion. The guns remain silent because a group of West African nations have been willing to pay the price of committing their troops and meager treasuries to rescue a region from greater deprivation and a neighbor from self-destruction.

Since the effort to restore peace in Liberia began more than a year ago, the West African peacekeepers have struggled practically alone to create an environment in which Liberians could turn to the process of holding free and fair elections. Besides sending in troops, the governments, led by the Ivory Coast's president, Felix Houphouët-Boigny, have hammered out agree-

ments with the warring parties that provide a framework for a permanent settlement of the conflict. With great pressure from the West African forces, Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front, which launched the rebellion in 1989, agreed with the interim Liberian government to bring about conditions leading to democratic elections.

Chief among those was creation of an interim elections commission, an ad hoc Supreme Court and the all-important enactment and disarmament of warring parties by the West African forces. Liberia's electoral commission and Supreme Court are now in place, presidential elections have been set for Nov. 30, and congressionally authorized U.S. funding to support the electoral process is awaiting certification by President George Bush. The holdup at this stage is receipt of verification from the West African peacekeepers that the Taylor forces have fully complied with the disarmament and demobilization requirements as he claims.

As has been the case since this unprecedented West African undertaking began, the rebel leader who started it all stands beside the chaos he helped create and the peace his country deserves.

— THE WASHINGTON POST

So Why Stop Now?

As this year's big energy bill grinds toward the final stage of enactment, it reflects an uneasy acknowledgment that the United States is still vulnerable to disruptions of its oil supply. But since the first great oil crisis in 1973, there have been substantial changes in the ways Americans use energy — and most of those changes have been for the better.

The country is currently using less oil than it did in 1973, although the output of its economy has increased by half. How did it accomplish that feat? Increased reliance on coal and nuclear power helped, but by far the largest factor was conservation. That has been the first and most important lesson of the past 19 years' struggles with the energy equation: Conservation works.

In 1973 that proposition was fiercely disputed. There were a lot of people who argued vehemently that the link between energy and economic growth was absolutely rigid, and that any attempt to hold down oil consumption would necessarily mean a lower standard of living. But it has not, and the reasons in retrospect seem obvious. A well-insulated house is hardly a less comfortable place to live than one with the wind rattling through the windows and the furnace roaring in the basement.

To encourage conservation, the most effective of all inducements is a rising price of

energy. The biggest gains in efficiency came in the aftermath of the two huge leaps in oil prices, in 1973-74 and 1980-81. But while a rising price always increases efficiency, the reverse does not seem to be true. When oil prices collapsed in 1986, efficiency did not drop. Public policy, embodied in laws like the one now being completed in Congress, has done nothing revolutionary, but it has exerted a steady pressure in the right direction and discouraged backsliding.

That is particularly visible on the highway. The number of vehicles has increased hugely since 1973, and total mileage has nearly doubled. But consumption of gasoline and diesel fuel is up by only 20 percent — and the federal fuel efficiency laws, although much hated by the auto manufacturers, surely share the credit for that good performance. The increase in highway fuel consumption has been more than offset by reductions in reliance on oil in industry, households and electric power generation.

That raises a question. Since the country has greatly improved its energy efficiency at low cost and with large benefits, why not raise it further? This year's bill will make modest incremental improvements, but the gains need to be speeded up to anticipate crises ahead. The world's supply of oil is no more secure today than it has ever been.

— THE WASHINGTON POST

Other Comment

Friend or Foe?

The good news was that 3.5 tons of dynamite blew Saddam Hussein's main nuclear complex sky-high. The bad news, it turns out, is that a crucial part of the complex was not just American-built but built with the tacit approval of the Bush administration.

After the Gulf War, UN inspectors found that Iraq's nuclear effort was centered at a complex southwest of Baghdad; and, enforcing the terms of the peace treaty, they proceeded to destroy it. But a scandal of foreign-policy judgment remains.

"The Bush administration," says Peter D. Zimmerman of the Center for Strategic International Studies in Washington, "supplied hardware and equipment to Iraq by

applying the least stringent possible evaluation of whether the real purpose was military instead of civilian."

Fortunately for the world, Saddam Hussein blew his own cover. His carbide tool plant was nearing completion in August 1990 when he invaded Kuwait.

More than 100 American and allied lives later, his invasion would be thrown back and his tool plant destroyed.

But the fact that the Iraqi tyrant's judgment was even worse than that of the Bush administration is cold comfort as one contemplates the challenges that may lie ahead. To the end, no foreign policy skill is more basic than the ability to tell friend from foe.

— Los Angeles Times

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International Herald Tribune, 181 Avenue Charles-de-Gaulle, 92521 Neuilly-sur-Seine, France. Tel: (1) 46.37.93.00. Telex: Advertising, 613395; Circulation, 612832; Editorial, 612716; Production, 630698.

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S.A. au capital de 1.200.000 F. RCS Nanterre B 213021128. Comptes Courants No 61337

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OPINION

Fine Ideas Are Fine, but the World Needs Leadership

By Stephen S. Rosenfeld

WASHINGTON — It is the historical moment for a broad-gauged inquiry into whether America, and the political season, too, The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has responded with "Changing Our Ways." The product of a team of non-fuddy-duddy citizens and former officials led

By the newer prescriptions of retrenchment for a nation supposedly in irreversible decline. Almost everything can be done, it says, over time, if we apply the wit and the will: A more prosperous economy can be built, and on it can be constructed a more livable planet and a freer and safer world.

Is yielding "a measure of autonomy" to the United Nations the recipe for effective policy or for a disguised retreat?

by a former U.S. ambassador to China, Winston Lord, it invites attention as a coherent package of centrist possibilities.

The report does not claim even its signers' full agreement, and two participants, James Schlesinger and Richard Perle, refused to sign. Still, its thrust is unmistakable. It is unapologetically American — that is, high-minded, internationalist, ambitious and positive.

Not only are the old grim wisdom of holding on, waiting and muddling through.

It is their implicit premise that the United States no longer has permanent or potentially ominous enemies and therefore can turn safely to other concerns.

They are also relaxed about considerations of ideology as a driving force of foreign policy. They warmly approve of democracy, of course, but they do not insist that it must be, in the vogue phrase, a new organizing principle to replace the old organizing principle of containment of Soviet Communist power.

There is the new pragmatism, a post-Cold War, problem-by-problem approach that reverts to familiar if not yet established ideas, stays in the mainstream where the public support lies and tries to push past philosophical contention into practical consensus.

Sometimes they get too glib. Can we be certain, for instance, that there may be short-term conflict between environmental care and economic growth but not long-term conflict?

That attempting to suppress the supply of drugs, as against attacking demand, is futile and damaging? That at a time when new democracies are under painful strain, we can look forward to establishing still more of the breed? That American nuclear testing does not inhibit nonproliferation? That although it is not clear how much American defense spending ought to fall, it is clear that world

military expenditures should be halved? That it is best for the United States to yield "a measure of autonomy" and hand over security chores to the international institutions?

This last point suggests one of the pitfalls in writing big reports. There is a temptation to seek messy situations on the ground and to escape messes of design in the ether. Typically, the cover of this report bears a fetching photo of the globe taken from an overhead satellite.

Multilateralism, collective security, respect for the international rules — great stuff, I am sure. But look how these concepts have fared in Yugoslavia. Might we do better in an analogous situation — actually, each new situation turns out to have dismayingly unique differences — the next time? I want to say yes. But to do better should we figure on being more multilateral or — here on thought — less? Is yielding "a measure of autonomy" to the United Nations the recipe for effective policy or for a disguised retreat?

Good ideas are essential to policy. What ultimately counts is the way a political leader charge in a given set of circumstances. For that, the leader needs not only an intellectual job, but a political one. The grand designs are necessary, the hard choices and trade-offs even more so.

The Washington Post

For a Settlement in the Balkans, Give Serbia's People Their Say

By Alexander Karageorgevitch

The writer is crown prince of Yugoslavia.

LONDON — It is a sobering experience to travel through my country, the "reduced" Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), as I did for three weeks this summer. Everywhere, graveyards are filling with victims of a senseless war. The number of refugees is increasing. Hospitals are running out of supplies. And while the United Nations sanctions are biting in Serbia and Montenegro, they are not hurting those in power.

After my visit, the government imposed severe restrictions on civil liberties. The people have given proof that they are victims of the regime. In the past two months the Serbian Orthodox Church has raised its voice against the regime of Slobodan Milosevic. It has been joined by most members of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, students and faculty of the University of Belgrade and trade unions.

The real Serbia made a tremendous display of its strength and determination at a rally in Belgrade on June 28, a day after I arrived. The real Serbia was also visible in the faces of thousands of striking students I met in Belgrade, Novi Sad, Nis and Kragujevac.

The Serbian news media are also struggling valiantly, despite the government's stranglehold. The independent Television Station Studio B cannot be seen far outside the capital. The newspaper Borba remains free and objective, and a heavy-handed attempt by the government to take over Politika, a newspaper and publishing company, has failed because of brave editors, reporters and print workers. These people need encouragement and support.

The best way to help the people attain peace, democracy and stability would be to send an unambiguous signal that the democratic community of nations is at odds with Mr. Milosevic's regime and not with the Serbian people. Douglas Hurd, the British foreign secretary, made a step in that direction when he met with opposition representatives in Belgrade on July 17.

The leaders of the Movement for Democracy should be invited to the European Community peace conference on Yugoslavia that is to take place in London this month. By accepting the democratic opposition as a partner in debate, the European Community and the United States would undermine Mr. Milosevic's claim as Serbia's sole legitimate representative.

Such a move would strengthen the opposition's credibility at home and help the West build relationships with the people who are certain to play an important role in Serbia's future.

It has become clear that Serbia's democratic transformation is a necessary condition for general peace in the Balkans. But for such a transformation to take place, Serbians must be given a clear signal that their legitimate rights are as understood and appreciated as those of other groups.

With a freely elected government in Belgrade, a lasting peace in the Balkans would be closer. Those chances would be enhanced if Croatia shook off the mantle of ultranationalist authoritarianism. As someone who has tried to be fair to all ethnic and religious groups, I would like to see Croatia, as well as Serbia, make a real effort to carry out democratic reform.

Croatian state television, like its Serbian counterpart, pumps out hatred, fabrications and reminders of religious and ethnic divisions. The key to ending bloodshed in Bosnia and elsewhere is not to appoint blame but to diagnose and cure the causes. The cause of the tragedy in Yugoslavia is the hasty and ill-considered decision by the international community to recognize the former federation's republics as independent states. With this move, the principle of territorial integrity clashed with the principle of self-determination.

In recognizing the new republics, the international community supported the right of national self-determination of Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia, but denied it to the Serbs in these regions. The nationalities of Bosnia, for example, include Muslims, Serbs, Croats and Jews who all have the equal right to be called Bosnians.

The country's internal boundaries, arbitrarily drawn by Tito in 1945, punished the Serbs by leaving a third of them outside Serbia. Such borders are incompatible with democratic principle; they were never negotiated or ratified by freely elected assemblies.

A solution that would satisfy the aspirations of virtually all ethnic groups in the former Yugoslavia except the largest, the almost 10 million Serbs, is bound to fail. It would cause disequilibrium and strife for years. As a first step, the West should keep hammering home the message to the Belgrade authorities that unless the Serbian media are entirely

free, the government will not be seen as truly democratic. Only when such conditions are established can free and fair elections take place.

Such freedom would be an absolute basic tenet of a constitutional monarchy. I have envisioned popular acclamation over the last few years, and the parliament should urgently address the re-establishment of constitutional monarchy, which was illegally abolished by Tito in 1945.

The crown would be an optimal solution not only for the Serbs but for the religious and ethnic minorities, which must have equal rights even in the "reduced" Yugoslavia.

Only a Serbia at peace with itself, existing as a genuine democracy, upholding religious and ethnic rights, can bring stability to the Balkans.

No less than half the members of the European Community are constitutional monarchies with impeccable democratic credentials. Does anyone doubt the contribution made by King Juan Carlos to Spain's successful transition to democracy?

For all of the former Yugoslavia and the world to breathe a sigh of relief, Serbia's democrats and advocates of constitutional monarchy should finally be given a chance.

The New York Times

Waiting for the Bundesbank Means Too Much Pain for Europe

By Gerard Vila

PHILADELPHIA — Most of the world remains upset about the success of German unification. But this success on the political front has diverted attention from the very evident failure of economic strategies for German unification.

Mainly as a result of the pushing up of interest rates to unreasonably high levels, output in the European Community has been sluggish for several years. Economies grow at only about 50 to 60 percent of their potential. Corporations and, to a lesser extent, households buckle under the burden of tight money. The pain is especially acute in countries like Britain where the debt binge in the 1980s was most pronounced.

The problems that arise with financing German unification are not new. They appear whenever a government or group of governments faces a sharp rise of public spending requirements. Sometimes it is politically feasible simply to raise taxes. But in many cases, such as Lyndon Johnson's financing of the Vietnam War, the extra spending is financed through inflation.

In the German unification case, the financing is accomplished by a beguilingly neighborly policy where high German interest rates pull capital from the rest of the Community. A better alternative — of which a roughly similar example was the U.S. Marshall Plan for Western Europe — would be a direct transfer of aid from the rest of the Community to Germany.

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High German interest rates amount, indirectly, to a form of taxation in the other EC countries.

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The Fed's a Flop, So Dispense With It

By Steve H. Hanke

BALTIMORE — In one of Washington's long-running charades, the supposedly independent Federal Reserve is always cast as the estate virgin, untouched by fawning politicians. In reality it is as pure as the driven snow.

In hopes of igniting the economy, the Fed, under White House and congressional prodding, has pushed the discount rate — the interest rate that the Fed charges commercial banks for short-term loans — to a 28-year low. This raises embarrassing questions about Fed independence. Has it again become a victim of political indiscretion, operating as a branch of a president's re-election campaign?

Indeed, in a Wall Street Journal interview published last week, Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas Brady lent credence to that view when he said he would support legislation that would heighten Congress's role in Fed decision-making — and thus further politicize the Fed.

Of course, America's central bank, which determines the money supply, is a government monopoly. It is impossible to remove politics from anything that the government owns, manages or regulates. Thus, the Fed has been subject to political manipulation since its inception in 1914.

During World War I, the Treasury, to reduce the cost of financing the war, got the Fed to keep interest rates low. The result was an explosion in the money supply and the worst inflation since the Civil War, followed by a severe postwar depression.

That was the first of many boom-and-bust cycles that America has suffered as a result of politically motivated Fed policies.

In 1971, America threw off the last vestiges of the gold standard, which limited the Fed's policy-making latitude; that freed the Fed to pursue a more activist monetary policy — to manipulate the money supply in order to fine-tune the economy. Since then the Fed has become more prone to leading to the political winds.

Not surprisingly, America has gone through two major real estate booms (1971-1973 and 1982-1989) followed by busts (1974 and 1991-1992), the most rapid inflation of commodity prices in a century (1976-1980), the worst deflation of commodity prices (1980-1982) since 1919, and swings in stock market prices reminiscent of those of the 1920s and 1930s.

Other countries have experienced similar economic juggling, largely attributable to central banks' manipulation of the money supply; Europe's stagflation of the 1970s, the Japanese stock market bubble of the 1980s and its rupture in this decade.

But isn't there a more satisfactory means of determining the country's money supply? The former Fed chairman, Paul Voleker, said in 1990 that central banks were "not the cutting edge of a market economy." That central bankers were "Johnny-come-latelies," that "central banking is almost entirely a phenomenon of the 20th century" and that, when established, "central banks were looked upon and created as a means of financing the government" (usually to fight wars).

What should be done? In his 1976 book "Denationaliza-

tion of Money," Friedrich Hayek, a Nobel laureate in economics, said that government monopolies are by nature politicized and produce shoddy goods at high cost, and that money produced by central banks is no different.

To improve the quality of money — preserve its purchasing power — he said central banks should be privatized, and private suppliers of currency, such as commercial and investment banks and traveler's check issuers should be allowed to compete with one another freely.

Before 1914, dollars were issued by banks. Under a return to such a private, market-driven competing-currency system, the purchasing power of money would improve as sound dollars drove out less sound ones.

Comities with such systems — Scotland from 1716 to 1845, Canada from 1817 to 1934 — had impressive records of restraining inflation and thus preserving high-quality currency.

Countries least burdened by unnecessary government regulations experienced few bank failures and were immune to panicking. Those more heavily regulated — America from 1782 to 1914 — experienced more difficulties, but their records still compare favorably with today's central banking systems.

Now that government monopolies in telecommunications, postal service, railroads and so on are being privatized and made competitive worldwide, it is time to abolish the Fed.

The writer, professor of applied economics at the Johns Hopkins University, contributed this comment to The New York Times.

the production capacity in East Germany was scrapped and all East Germans were kept idle, on welfare at West German levels of consumption, the total burden would amount to only 3.4 percent of the EC's gross domestic product. Adding the estimated resources needed to equip East Germany with modern plant and infrastructure would bring the total to 4 percent of the overall Community's GDP.

This is slightly less than the cumulative loss of output in the past few years that has been caused by record high levels of real interest rates.

In other words, suppose that in the last two years interest rates had been lower and the EC citizenry had consented to transfer to East Germany the entire difference between the higher output that would have been possible and the lower output that actually prevailed. Then no EC consumer outside East Germany would have been worse off, and inflation would not have been higher. But unemployment would be lower, and East Germany's reconstruction would be way ahead of its present stage.

So, isn't it high time to find a way to substitute effective contributions, with consent, for ineffective taxation without representation?

One already hears the objections: What politician would dare sell to the EC people the idea of paying a "separate" to help the richer German worker?

But are there any better European "public goods" to invest in than the preservation of the Bundesbank's credibility or the noninflationary success of Germany's reunification?

Imagine what might happen if the former is lost and the latter fails: Protracted unemployment in East Germany leads to disillusionment and political fragmentation; everywhere stagnation leads to the rise of far-right extremists and devastating U-turns in macroeconomic policy.

An explicit contribution to German unification by the entire Community, if politically feasible, would be vastly preferable to the present course. Of course, in handling this transfer with consent from all the EC to East Ger-

many, one should take care to avoid inflationary side effects.

One among many possible modalities: a special non-negotiable EC bond issue, underwritten exclusively by EC governments. Each government would enforce a compulsory subscription — a contribution like a surtax — on the taxpayers. The proceeds would be segregated into a fund, and devoted exclusively to the underwriting of the issue. The German government would devote the proceeds of the loans exclusively to East German development.

Keeping the private capital markets out of the whole affair — no matter how much European financial intermediaries could benefit from some additional underwriting fees — would ease the task of the central banks in guarding against covert monetization effects and inflationary fallout.

The suggestion may sound far-fetched. Should the present course fail, however, the time for finding alternatives will have run out.

Until last summer, the Bundesbank could rightly point out that the negative impact of higher German rates on neighboring countries was offset by the positive pull of German imports.

Yet by some economic results, the positive effects offset only about half of the negative drag. And today there is no significant import pull.

In addition to Europe's interest rate woes, we now have the fall of the dollar. This gives the EC countries the double whammy of grossly overvalued currencies as well as excessive and rising real interest rates.

The European Community is suffering more than it should. Sharing the burden of German unification is better than spreading the pain of high German interest rates. It is better to keep 1 million East Germans on subsidies than 16 million Europeans out of work.

The writer is chairman and chief economic officer of The WEA Group, economic consultants. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1892: Election Outsider

LONDON — Victoria Woodhull, who is known here as the wife of Mr. John Martin, of Martin's Bank, is about to depart for the United States, where she will begin her campaign for the Presidency of the Republic in opposition to Messrs. Harrison, Cleveland and St. John. Mrs. Martin wants to revise the Constitution of the United States which, she contends, has outgrown the limits of its usefulness and she is running for the Presidency with the object of attracting attention to her views.

1917: Russian Sweetheart

PETROGRAD — Kerensky is the most picturesque, popular figure brought before the world by the great Russian revolution. His is the only name in Russia inspiring universal confidence and Kerensky is characterized as the sweetheart and hope of the Russian revolution. In an interview he said: "The main problem is the nation-

al revolutionary defence of our country. Whenever (certain people) fall into despair here or abroad, thinking that Russia is falling apart, I remind them of the French Revolution."

1942: Bombay Warning

BOMBAY — [From our New York edition:] The Governor of Bombay Province ordered massed police patrols and British Army machine guns tonight [Aug. 11] to use the strongest measures, including lashing, to quell disorders in this storm center of the Gandhi "free India" campaign. The stern new order came after troops and police had fired into this disorderly crowd. "I cannot allow this disturbance of the life of the city to continue," said the Governor, "I am going to maintain order at any cost. To those, therefore, who may be thinking of going on with these disturbances, I now give this plain warning: The police and troops have orders to take the strongest measures whenever necessary."

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OPINION

A Government Reunited Could End This Gridlock

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON — After two weeks of total immersion in the beauty of northern Michigan in the glory of televised Olympics, I find Washington worse than a meltdown. You catch up on the latest battle in the ongoing war between the White House and Congress and you realize that if the Dream Team had worked the way government does now, it would have been called the Nightmare Squad.

Watching the Democratic Congress and the Republican president fuss at each other, you think longingly of the way Magic Johnson and his teammates move the ball and the way the two record-setting U.S. relay teams passed the baton in Barcelona. As they showed, it

All of this is made worse by the terrible budget deficits. In times past, some conflicts between the parties could be resolved by giving each side a bit of what it wanted. Under Dwight Eisenhower and Richard Nixon, when the pattern of divided government began to seem normal, budgets were stretched to accommodate both Republican and Democratic objectives within reason. But the deficits of the Reagan-Bush era have forced harder trade-offs, and the conflicts have grown more severe. All of this raises the cost of divided government.

When I talk with friends in Michigan about this sorry spectacle, their question is: Why don't politicians stop playing these cheap games and just do what is right for the country?

They have a point. The politicians should be held to account. George Bush has not engaged seriously and consistently in pushing his proposals in Congress. Instead he has thrown a veto strategy that has thwarted the Democrats without achieving any of his own objectives. For their part, Democratic congressional leaders, particularly in the last two years, have framed more and more of their strategy around frustrating Mr. Bush and sharpening the issues for the 1992 campaign.

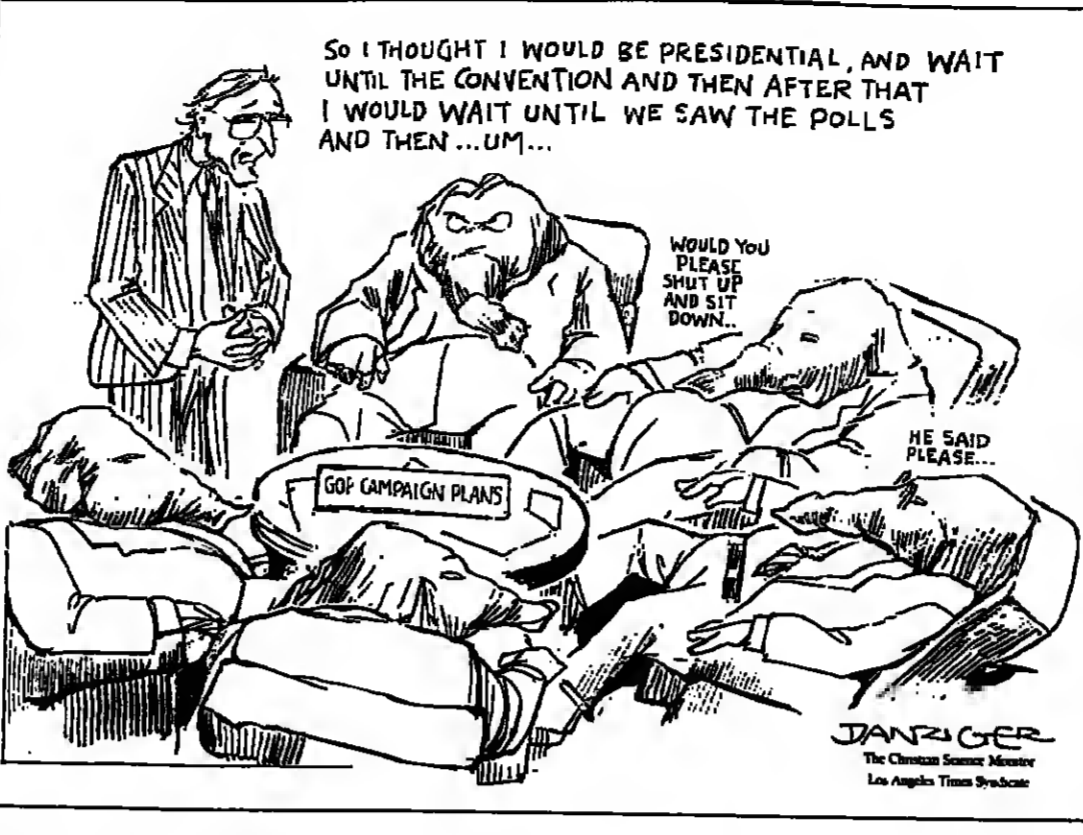
The voters keep splitting the U.S. government and wondering why confusion and inaction result.

really makes a difference when people are working together for the same goal. That is so commonsense it is a cliché. Teamwork is what every boy and girl is taught in elementary school. And yet the voters, bless them, keep splitting the government between opposing parties and wondering why the result is confusion, frustration and inaction.

"Gridlock" has made the headlines, and maybe, just maybe, this overdue attention will help voters understand their part in unscratching this mess. For five days last week, The Washington Post ran front-page stories, written by our team of congressional correspondents, on the causes, the consequences and the costs of legislative impasse. The New York Times, not to be outdone, had a Page 1 story on Sunday covering much of the same ground.

As both newspapers made clear, there is more to the problem than simply the fact of divided government. Powerful interest groups have lobbied hard to prevent agreement on budget cuts and education system changes. Incumbents' self-interest has twisted campaign finance "reform" into a caricature of its name. Issues from crime to abortion to welfare have been put forward by one side or the other as a way not to resolve conflicts but to heighten fears in certain constituencies that their beliefs and interests are in danger.

Letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer's signature, name and full address. Letters should be brief and are subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

UN University Replies: 'The Controversy Does Not Exist'

Regarding the report "UN University in Tokyo Is Accused of Smuggling Money" (Aug. 5) by Steven Brull:

The report is a mixture of truths, half-truths, irrelevances, unfounded allegations and innuendo by unidentified sources. It is certainly not worthy of the IHT. The so-called controversy over the university does not exist.

The article contains a reference to one of my statements in an internal document. The reference has been taken completely out of context and misrepresents a statement I made to the rector of the university that was meant to enhance and improve the effectiveness of our work rather than lend criticism to it, as was implied in this article. Anyone familiar with an academic institution would know the importance of free and open dialogue among colleagues, and the misinterpretation of my statement can only be said to support the absurd and distorted picture that your reporter paints of the university.

ROLAND J. FUCHS, Vice Rector, United Nations University, Tokyo.

As rector of United Nations University and in my personal capacity, I completely reject Mr. Brull's article. It is a clear case of biased and malicious criticism, and its sources and purpose are well known to me and to my colleagues at the university. I do not believe that the majority of allegations contained in the article merit a specific response from

me. However, I wish here to deny the allegations of financial irregularities contained in the article, which can only be termed as groundless and malicious. HECTOR GURGULINO DE SOUZA, UNU, Tokyo.

United Nations University has not "gradually altered its mission" to raise more money. Its work as a backer and coordinator of global research and training networks is the work specified in its charter, approved by the UN General Assembly in 1972.

The "beautiful dream" of an international campus of first-rate scholars and students was abandoned (by UN and Unesco preparatory committees) before the Japanese government agreed to provide the initial endowment funding and headquarters facilities. It is a pity that the world university also was not dropped; subsequent confusion and disappointment could have been avoided.

RAY FLEMING, Former Director of Information, UNU, Alaró, Mallorca, Spain.

Congratulations on Mr. Brull's article. When I arrived at the still-new university in 1977 as its first chief of personnel, I was shocked at the lavish parties being given by an organization whose activities included a World Hunger Program. The food that ended up in the waste basket, I thought, could have fed a village in Pakistan. In my seven years of UNU service, I

Tip to Atlanta: The Team You Need Includes Henri

By Brian Knowlton

PARIS — Michael? Larry? Magic? I'm unimpressed. Yeah, they can play basketball. But they won't make my Olympic squad. I have a dream (team) of another kind. As the Olympic flag waves its way slowly toward Atlanta and 1996, here are the sort of athletes who lurch like drunken sugar plums through my sleeping head.

There's Henri the Hawk (probably not his real name). I found him on the Metro the other day. Graying hair pro-

MEANWHILE

truded from his nostrils and ears, but his dirty T-shirt, testimony to high ambition, won him a place on my team. I proudly bore the Olympic rings, swelling over a mighty belly.

I had discovered some other hot prospects several weeks earlier while watching the Olympic basketball trials in Seattle. As the overvalued U.S. jocks ignominiously whipped yet another Latin American team into shape, a rowdy group of U.S. fans stood unsteadily in the stands, holding a series of signs that proclaimed, "Hey, Chuck. Let Us Play!" — a message to the U.S. coach, Chuck Daly. Their desire — and their black humor — would guarantee them a shot at my Olympic squad.

O.K. — oow leap back a whole Olympic cycle to Seoul. Perhaps you remember a charming fellow from the Solomon Islands. Three months after first picking up a bow, he became an Olympic archer — oo apple-splitter, but a proud Olympian nonetheless.

The Solomonian was following in the more spectacular footsteps of should I say flight path — of Eddie "the Eagle" Edwards, the nearsighted, overweight British ski jumper who placed dead last (58th of 58) at the Calgary Games but called it "the greatest day of my life."

This is the real Olympic spirit — a desire to compete that is too great to be dampened by rank inability, physical ineptness or fear of public mortification. Eddie the Eagle has millions of spiritual soulmates around the world, people who would give their little sister to take part in the Olympics but have been prevented by cruel circumstance — because they couldn't make it once around the track without the family Chrysler, or because they don't happen to live in some remote place like the Solomon Islands, where the only thing you need to qualify for the Olympic team, apparently, is a valid passport and air fare.

Surely many nations, Solomon-like, have room on their Olympic teams for people to practice sports that are not quite national specialties, much like the bobsled team that Jamaica sent to Calgary. Dusty Chad, might we assume, could use some scullers. And now that baseball is a full-fledged Olympic sport, plenty of countries will be looking for even halfway decent left fielders.

Senegal already has the right idea. Remember the skier they sent to Albertville this year? He had the slow, shaky, wide-legged style of someone who had won his way there in an office raffle. Come to think of it, millions of long-at-the-mouth Walter Mitty types would dearly love to compete in the Olympics, and scores of poor countries have Olympic-sized budget problems. These two groups should get together. It could be handled just as easily as the U.S. navy refueled those Kuwaiti tankers a few years ago. Needy nations could refuel would-be Olympians as native athletes — for a small fee, of course.

Better still, there could be national lotteries in which, for the price of a ticket, you could buy into the dream of participating in the next Olympic Games. Tremendous amounts could thus be raised, all but painlessly, for Third World development.

What of the International Olympic Committee — what will they say back at the Samaranch? Probably "yes," if the IOC gets a cut of all that lottery action. Interest in the Games, already great, would grow astronomically. There would be an immeasurable impact on physical fitness worldwide. Imagine the motivation of knowing that there was a chance, however remote, of lining up in the starting blocks next to someone with legs (etc.) like Florence Griffith Joyner. Roll out the old Excycycle, Ernie!

These vicious Olympics could only make the real guys look better, providing a real-world measuring stick. If Linford Christie's 100-meter dash was fairly sensational, how would it have looked if some pudgy pub owner from Puddington had come panting across the finish line, to fantastic cheers, as the winner was lauding his sweat socks?

There would be problems. Some contact sports (did you see those Mongolian wrestlers?) might be a bit much for Clyde Couchpotato. And Olympic carpentry would have to add a step to the winners' podiums, since every lottery winner should be guaranteed a tin medal.

If the "real" athletes protested, they could be cut into the money. While we're at it, let's complete the professionalization of the Olympics. Pay all the athletes a fair wage. (But if they want to stay in some \$900-a-night palace, à la Dream Team, make them pay!)

Consider the Political Correctness of my proposal: In this day of growing sensitivity to the needs and requirements of an ever expanding number of minority groups, the Olympic Games are perhaps the most shocking example of discrimination against the flabby, the flat of foot, the shabby and unsafe, the slow, the weak and the incompetent. And I don't mind saying that we're tired of it! So, all together now: "Hey, Senor Samaranch, Let Us Play!"

International Herald Tribune.

GENERAL NEWS

Britons Undermine French AIDS Claim

By Warren E. Leary

WASHINGTON — A newly disclosed dispute between French and British research institutes over who should get credit for early research on the virus that causes AIDS may have implications for the French government's attempt to renegotiate a patent royalty agreement with the United States over AIDS tests, according to lawyers.

The British-French dispute, outlined in an article in the July 30 issue of the British journal Nature, suggests that the French were not as far along as American researchers in 1984 in developing a test for HIV, the virus that causes AIDS, lawyers for the American researchers said.

Lawyers for the French government and the Pasteur Institute in Paris have been pressing the U.S. government in recent months to renegotiate a 1987 agreement that evenly splits credit and profits from the discovery of HIV between the

research institutions in the two nations.

The French say they have new evidence that they were misled in the original negotiations about what work had been done in the National Institutes of Health laboratory of Dr. Robert C. Gallo. Therefore, the French say, they deserve a greater share of royalties from HIV tests, which have generated an estimated \$50 million in royalties worldwide.

American officials have refused to reopen discussions on the agreement, saying they are still gathering information on the matter. But attorneys for Dr. Gallo and the U.S. Health and Human Services Department say they are interested in learning details of long-running differences between the Pasteur Institute and a British research organization over scientific credit and royalties.

"We are aware of the report in Nature and find it interesting," Michael Astruc, general counsel for the Health and Human Services

Department, said in an interview.

"I have written to Pasteur and asked if they want to supply any additional information on the matter. We'll just wait and see." Scientists at London's Institute of Cancer Research say that in 1984 they did crucial work for the Pasteur Institute on the AIDS virus discovered by French researchers led by Dr. Luc Montagnier, who with Dr. Gallo is credited in the 1987 agreement as co-discoverer of the cause of AIDS.

The French, who had difficulty growing their virus in quantity, gave a sample of it in early 1984 to the British institute, which was noted for this kind of work.

The British quickly developed a way to grow HIV in cell culture, a crucial step in developing a screening test for infected blood, and the officials of the Pasteur Institute stated in writing later that year that they would share the credit and potential royalties with their London colleagues, according to the British researchers.

It was not until 1986 that officials of the Pasteur Institute again addressed the possibility of a formal agreement, promising a British institute that they would deal with the matter expeditiously. Dr. Weiss said, but nothing has happened since.

Six years later, the British say, no agreement has been forthcoming, and the Pasteur Institute has been silent about publicly acknowledging the British work or reaching any agreement about royalties.

"They may have forgotten about it, but that would be a surprise to me," said Dr. Robin Weiss, a senior researcher at the British institute, who was its director when the AIDS work was done. "This seems to be a little bit of unfinished business that the Pasteur Institute should take care of."

Several attempts to reach Dr. Montagnier and the Pasteur Institute for comment by telephone and faxed messages were unsuccessful. The report in Nature said Pasteur officials had acknowledged that the British institute "had a case" for being recognized but had asked that it remain quiet.

Joseph Onek, the lawyer for Dr. Gallo, said the British-French dispute could be important because it showed that early in 1984, a time when the work at Dr. Gallo's lab was fully developed and described, the French had made limited progress toward developing an HIV test.

"Just look at the Nature article involving the British and the French, and how enlightening the correspondence from the French is," Mr. Onek said in an interview last week. "This is generally helpful in showing that the French don't deserve more patent royalties because they were so far behind in the work," he said, "and it also says a lot about entering agreements with them."

For the United States to even consider French claims for more royalties without first demanding access to all relevant French records would be "judicious," he said.

Michael A. Epstein, a New York lawyer who is representing the Pasteur Institute in the AIDS patent case, said that what had happened between the British and French teams was "extraneous" to the patent dispute, which he said focused on what Dr. Gallo had done.

"I can't comment on the merits of the case between the people in England and Pasteur," he said, "but I don't think this report affects what was in the original French filing for the U.S. patent, which was complete and went in before Gallo filed for his patent."

Researchers Now See a Danger In Very Low Levels of Cholesterol

By Gina Kolata

NEW YORK — Slowly and hesitantly, leading heart disease researchers are concluding that there seems to be a dark side to having especially low cholesterol levels.

Although there is no dispute that low concentrations of cholesterol in the blood protect people from heart disease, there also seems to be a newly found, but sometimes grudging, agreement that very low cholesterol levels make death from other causes more likely.

Several studies pointing to a risk from low cholesterol levels have appeared this year, with more awaiting publication.

These studies, based on data from hundreds of thousands of people whose blood are extra-low levels of cholesterol in their blood are more likely to die in later years from a variety of causes, including suicide, homicide, strokes, certain cancers, liver disease and lung disease.

In fact, the deaths from these other causes mount so quickly that the mortality rate for those with low cholesterol levels equals the rate for people with very high cholesterol levels, who are likely to die from heart disease.

"What it comes down to is that there is an extraordinary set of observations that have emerged this year, because for the first time we have large enough studies to really see them," said Dr. Stephen Hulley, a heart disease researcher at the University of California at San Francisco. He described the studies as "a very serious and disconcerting set of observations."

The new findings do not question the standard medical advice that people with high cholesterol

should go on diets or take drugs to reduce them.

They concern people who were found to have extremely low cholesterol levels, defined as less than 160 units, or less than 160 milligrams per deciliter of blood. The average cholesterol level in the United States is about 200 units.

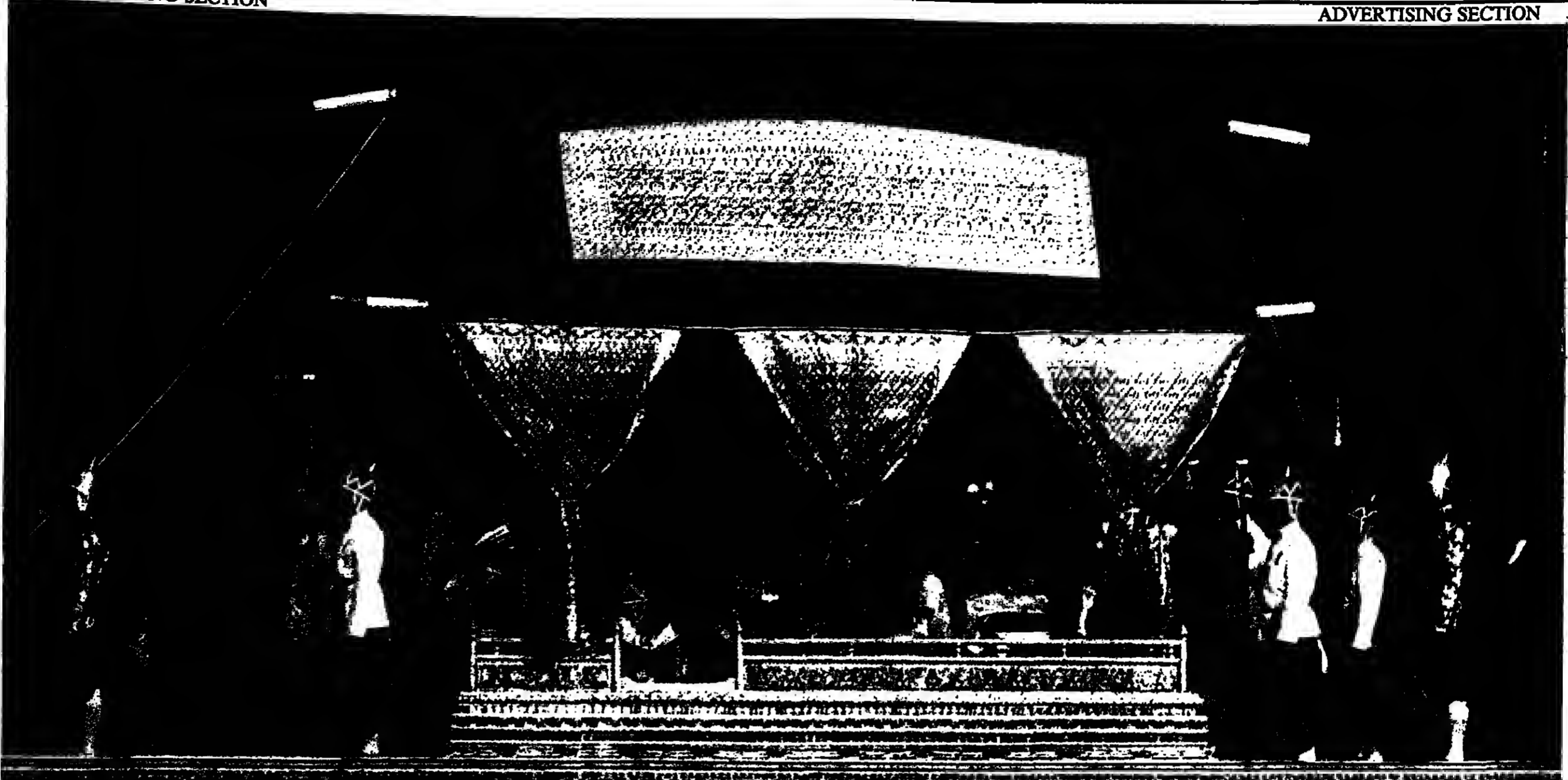
The findings raise a question of national policy because medical authorities want the nation as a whole to lower cholesterol levels. The National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute and the American Heart Association are promoting dietary guidelines intended to lower the average cholesterol level.

That policy should presumably push some individuals into the very low cholesterol range, which has now been found to be associated with an extra risk of death.

"This is a political as well as a scientific concern," said Dr. Michael H. Criqui, an epidemiologist at the University of California at San Diego and the editor of Circulation, a medical journal where a cholesterol study is to appear next month. "Some people just don't want to talk about it. They think it is going to impede public health measures."

But others agreed with Dr. Criqui that the questions that have been raised deserved hard study. Dr. Antonio Gotto, a cardiologist at Baylor College of Medicine in Houston and a leader in the movement to change the American diet to lower cholesterol levels, said: "We are moving to a position of policy where we would be lowering the cholesterol levels of millions of asymptomatic people and keeping their levels low for a lifetime. It behooves us therefore to be sure we are not doing any harm."

Advertisement for watches featuring various brands like Baume & Mercier, Breitling, Ebel, Fenici, IWC, Jaeger-LeCoultre, Longines, Mappin & Webb, Piaget, Rolex, Seiko, and Tag Heuer. The text includes 'Exclusive timepieces. Exclusive of tax. At Mappin & Webb Terminal 3. BAAZ Heathrow TAX FREE SHOPPING'.



In Celebration of Queen Sirikit's 60th Birthday

THAILAND Salutes HER MAJESTY

Modern Monarchy Reaches Out to the People

TO many Westerners, the encounter must have seemed an anachronism in a world where kings, if they exist at all, are mere figureheads. To those who knew Thailand better, however, it was but further proof of the unique position held by the Thai monarchy.

The concept of a caring, paternalistic ruler was born in 13th-century Sukhothai, the first independent Thai kingdom. According to a famous 1292 stone inscription, attributed to King Ramkhamheng, any citizen with a grievance could ring a bell hung outside the palace, whereupon the king would come and settle the case wisely and justly.

Not always realized in later centuries, the ideal nevertheless remained potent. It returned with new force with the Chakri Dynasty, which has occupied the throne since Bangkok became the capital in 1782 and of which the present king is the ninth ruler.

Born in Cambridge, Massachusetts — where his father,

Last May, international television audiences were treated to an unusual scene. After several days of street fighting in Bangkok between pro-democracy civilians and military troops, the leaders of the two factions knelt reverently before King Bhumibol Adulyadej.

Prince Mahidol, was studying medicine at Harvard — and educated in Switzerland, King Bhumibol reached his lofty position unexpectedly on the sudden death of his elder brother, King Ananda Mahidol, in 1946.



He was officially crowned on May 5, 1950, seven days after his marriage to Mom Rajawongse Sirikit Kitiyakara, the beautiful young daughter of the Thai ambassador to France, whom he had met in Paris.

The monarchy, operating under constitutional restraints since 1932, was in a somewhat anomalous position at the time. Except for brief visits by King Ananda, no king had actually reigned from Bangkok since the abdication of King Rama VII in 1935. The Lord of Life, as one title proclaimed him, was a remote, symbolic figure to the vast majority of Thais.

King Bhumibol and Queen Sirikit soon began to change that image. A landmark in the process was an arduous 22-day



trip they made in 1955 to the impoverished northeast, where people had never before seen one of their rulers. Talking with ordinary villagers as well as officials and respected Buddhist monks, the royal couple got a

Continued inside

A Queen's Story

Born on August 12, 1932 — just two months after constitutional monarchy was introduced into Thailand — Queen Sirikit is the daughter of Prince Chandaburi Suranath (Mom Chao Nakkhat Mongkol) and Mom Luang Bua Kitiyakara. Both Mom Chao and Mom Luang are titles indicating royal descent; Queen Sirikit's paternal grandfather was the much-revered King Chulalongkorn, who reigned from 1868 to 1910.

In the aftermath of the change of government, her father left his position in the army and entered the diplomatic service, going first to the Thai legation in Washington. The Queen remained behind in Bangkok, attending kindergarten at Rajani School and then, during the war years, St. Francis Xavier convent school.

After the war, her father became Thai Minister to France, to Denmark, and ultimately Ambassador to the Court of St. James's. The Queen continued her general education in all three countries, as well as in Switzerland.

It was while her father was stationed in Paris that she first

met King Bhumibol, then studying in Switzerland. After the King's serious automobile accident near Geneva, she became a frequent visitor, and during his convalescence their friendship ripened into love. She subsequently became a student at Riantic Rive, a boarding school in Lausanne.

The couple became officially engaged on July 19, 1949, and in March of the following year they returned to Bangkok by ship. The wedding took place on April 28 at Pratumwan Palace, residence of the King's mother, following which Sirikit was crowned Queen in conformity with Thai tradition.

Princess Ubol Ratana (now married to an American and living in California) was born on April 5, 1951, followed by Crown Prince Maha Vajiralongkorn on July 28, 1952, Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn on April 2, 1955, and Princess Chulabhorn on July 4, 1957.

The Significance of Sixty

Thais divide life into cycles of 12 years, a tradition that originated in ancient China and that is found in most Asian countries where there is a strong Chinese influence. At royal levels, the completion of the third cycle is regarded as auspicious and is observed with a degree of pomp; but by far the most significant and lavishly celebrated is the birthday at the end of the fifth cycle.

The reason is simple enough:

60 was a venerable age in the not-so-recent past — even today, the average life expectancy in Thailand for men is only 61.75 years — and relatively few were still around for a sixth-cycle celebration. Of the nine rulers of Thailand's present Chakri Dynasty, for example, only three have lived to the age of 60 — the first, the third and the present King.

This explains the lavish festivities that accompanied King Bhumibol's sixtieth birthday in 1987, a series of spectacles that included a rare procession of the royal barges on the Chao Phraya River and culminated in a mass gathering outside the Grand Palace on Dec. 5, when the largest crowd in Thai history paid homage to the man the people regard as the embodiment of national unity.



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As the nation celebrates the 60th birthday and 5th Buddhist cycle of her gracious Majesty the Queen may we humbly present our profound and loyal greetings.

On this auspicious occasion we salute Her Majesty's many achievements and her life-long devotion to both her family and to the welfare of the people of Thailand.

Through the years Her Majesty has led by example, unstinting in her efforts to improve the lives of the underprivileged throughout the Kingdom.

Her Majesty the Queen's initiatives and encouragement have seen the revival of many of the Kingdom's unique arts and crafts. Her Majesty's personal interest and patronage through the SUPPORT Foundation have not only helped revitalise ancient handicrafts threatened with extinction, but also helped provide welcome additional income for many rural folk.

The environment is also benefitting from the personal interest of Her Majesty. During their frequent travels upcountry over the years, Their Majesties the King and Queen have become acquainted with, and concerned for, the preservation of the environment and the protection of wild life species within their natural habitats.

While His Majesty the King has implemented modern farming technology to help save the country's valuable forest areas, Her Majesty the Queen has been instrumental in informing people of the need to care for their natural heritage.

In wishing Her Majesty a very happy birthday, long life, good health and happiness we join with other loyal subjects in our feelings of pride and affection for our caring Queen.



سكنا من الامم

Queen's Support Boosts Rural Life

Of all the endeavors personally initiated by Queen Sirikit to help the people of rural Thailand, probably the best known is the Foundation for the Promotion of Supplementary Occupations and Related Techniques, popularly known as SUPPORT.

SUPPORT's origins go back to the early 1970s, when Queen Sirikit was traveling regularly with the King through the northeast. At most of their stops, she noticed that many of the women were weaving sarongs made of a particularly handsome variety of tie-dyed silk known as mudmee. Subsequent inquiry revealed that although the subtly colored handmade fabric had once been highly prized in the region and even in Bangkok, it was now in danger of disappearing

in the face of changing fashions and competition from cheaper machine-made cloth. The Queen decided to help. Mudmee was a craft worth saving, she felt, both because of its beauty and because if sales increased it could bring extra income to farm families who often suffered from severe droughts and crop failures. One result of these emergencies was that many farmers were forced to sell their land and migrate to the growing slums of Bangkok in search of work. Using her own funds, the

Queen set up a small weaving project in the province of Nakhon Phanom, offering to furnish raw materials and buy the finished mudmee at good prices. Since silk thread was in short supply in some areas, she also backed a number of silk-worm farms. Her assistance went even further: mudmee began to appear prominently in her own much-photographed wardrobe, often in creations by such prominent designers as Pierre Balmain, sparking a dramatic rise in interest among fashion-conscious

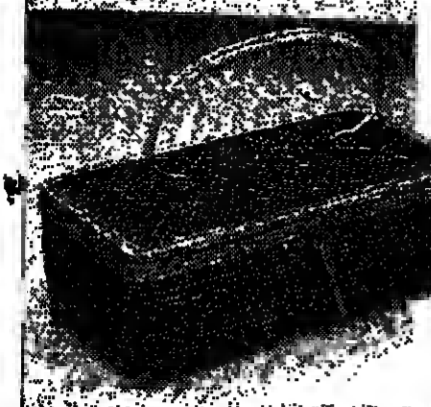
Bangkok ladies. A similar situation arose in the far south, where she encountered artisans who were still producing a fine basketware known as Yan Lipao, made from a climbing fern that grew wild in the jungles of the region. Antique examples of the craft could be seen in the Grand Palace in the form of elegant handbags and boxes that had been popular among royal ladies of the 19th century. Now it had become rare. A Yan Lipao project was set up in 1974 in Narathiwat Province, where the royal family has a residence, and striking handbags trimmed with silver and gold began to appear prominently among the Queen's accessories.

Two years later, in order to coordinate what was by then becoming a widely dispersed undertaking, SUPPORT was formally established with Queen Sirikit as patron and chairwoman. It included not only the mudmee and Yan Lipao projects but also a wide assortment of other crafts that she had come across in her rural travels. There were handbags, hats and mats made of jute and palm leaves in Phetchaburi; dolls, exquisitely detailed clay toys from Ang Thong, near the old capital of Ayutthaya; home-spun cotton and silk brocade from the north, as well as fine embroidery and silver jewelry fashioned by hill tribes; nielaware, a traditional specialty of Nakhon Si Thammaraj in

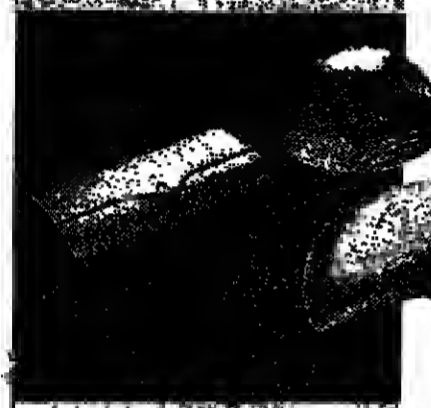
the south; handmade silk artificial flowers; and perhaps a dozen more. Many ancient skills have enjoyed a profitable revival as a result, but SUPPORT's primary aim was not to create full-time handicraft industries, but rather to provide rural families with ways of earning supplementary income when crops fail or some other disaster strikes, using traditional skills and, in most cases, readily available local materials. This, the Queen reasoned, was a more lasting form of emergency assistance, one that encouraged people to help themselves rather than rely on often erratic government aid.

SUPPORT now oversees over a hundred projects in villages around the country, offering courses that range from only a week or so for simple skills to more than a year for complex ones like mudmee weaving and sculpting. Short elementary courses in certain crafts are held for children during school vacations. When floods of refugees spilled into Thailand in the late 1970s and early '80s, special projects were set up in the camps along the Cambodian and Laotian borders to help women earn money while awaiting resettlement.

In addition, there are two multicraft training centers, one in the compound of Chitralada Palace, the royal family's official Bangkok residence, and the other on the Chao Phraya River near the summer palace of Bang Pa-In. The latter, called the Bang Sai Folk Arts and Crafts Center, has become a popular stop for tourists visiting the ruins of Ayutthaya by road or river and is a picturesque village of Thai-style houses, neat gardens and a shop selling local products. It serves as a permanent home to a number of needy families selected by the Queen and her staff for their skills or willingness to work, and has a school for some 300 students who receive a daily allowance plus travel expenses, working materials and extra pay for finished crafts.



Above: A Yan Lipao basketware made for the Queen's SUPPORT foundation.



Above: A woman in traditional Thai attire, possibly a royal official, in a formal setting.



The King and Queen presiding over one of the many ceremonial occasions that they attend in Bangkok.

Modern Monarchy Reaches Out

Continued from Page 7
vivid glimpse of the realities of rural life and, at the same time, discovered a way to turn the monarchy into a relevant modern institution. They would bring it into direct contact with the provincial population and dedicate themselves to improving conditions at a basic level.

Today, the King and Queen and members of their family — Crown Prince Maha Vajiralongkorn, Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn and Princess Chulabhorn — spend almost seven months of the year outside the capital. From residences strategically located in each of Thailand's five major regions, they have visited all 73 provinces, going by helicopter, jeep, boat and, occasionally, on foot to the most remote villages. Here they have remarkably informal meetings with local people.

Out of such encounters have come more than a thousand "royally initiated" projects, covering everything from improved water supplies and swamp drainage to more efficient utili-

zation of farmland and cottage industries for earning supplementary income. A program in the far north, originally started with the King's own funds, introduced new crops and temperate-zone fruits for hill tribes to grow instead of opium, at the same time bringing medical and educational facilities to tribal settlements. Another has been the Royal Rain-Making Project, under which 14 different chemical formulas have been devised for producing rain under varying conditions.

The royal children are equally active. Crown Prince Maha Vajiralongkorn takes a particular interest in rural hospitals, while Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn assists her father in collecting information for his projects, and Princess Chulabhorn has set up an institute to promote scientific research.

Following up on and supervising all these efforts has kept King Bhumibol continuously in Thailand for more than two decades, while the Queen's rare trips abroad have been to promote international sales for her handicraft project or to receive international awards like the Ceres Medal of the UN Food and Agricultural Organization honoring her achievements on behalf of rural women.

Their almost ceaseless travels within the country have made them not only the best-known royals in Thai history but also the most respected. At the same time, it has given the monarchy a subtle but unmistakable moral authority extending through all levels of Thai society.

During a period of communist insurgency, for example, rebels rarely attacked the royal family in their propaganda and, on occasion, were even willing to meet with them to air grievances. Some of the 1992 democracy demonstrators were the children of an earlier student group that clashed with government forces in the same streets in 1973; then, too, both sides turned to the King for advice and the crisis abated. A decade later, the King and Queen defused an attempted military coup and demonstrated their personal commitment to democratic principles by openly siding with the prime minister of the time; once their position was known, the soldiers quickly laid down their arms.

The outpouring of affection seen at the King's 60th birthday in 1987 and that is now greeting the Queen's anniversary illustrate the vital role of the monarchy in Thailand's rapidly changing society.

The Ceremonial Functions

The King and Queen have transformed the Thai monarchy by giving it a familiar, human face.

A significant part of King Bhumibol and Queen Sirikit's public role consists of taking part in various ceremonies and rituals that are deeply rooted in Thai culture and recall the ancient splendor of the monarchy.

The most solemn and splendid, of course, was the coronation itself in 1950, held in historic halls of the Grand Palace built by the King's ancestors two centuries ago. Clad in traditional dress and seated on an ornate throne, the King formally received the invitation to rule over the kingdom, accepted the jewel-studded Royal Regalia and pledged to "reign with righteousness for the benefit and happiness of the Thai people."

There are also ceremonies, however, that occur more or less regularly. Three times a year, for instance, the King and Queen go to the incredible collection of classic buildings known as the Temple of the Emerald Buddha to preside over the seasonal changing of robes worn by the little image, the most sacred in all the kingdom. These consist of a crown and adornments of gold and precious stones for the summer, a covering for the head and a gilded monastic robe flecked with gold for the rainy months and a shawl of enamel-coated solid gold for the winter.

The royal couple takes part in many other Buddhist occasions as well, such as presenting robes to monasteries at the end of the annual Lenten period and sponsoring ordination ceremonies. As Upholder of All Religions in Thailand, however, the King is also concerned with minority groups and regularly visits mosques in the predominantly Muslim provinces of the far south.

April 6, which commemorates the founding of the Chakri Dynasty in 1782,

is celebrated annually with various events in the palace, as are the birthdays of the King and the Queen, when public audiences are held. May 5 honors the day on which the King received his crown, while a ceremony on Oct. 23 is held in memory of King Chulalongkorn (Rama V), the royal grandfather shared by both.

As titular head of the armed forces, the king presides each December over the Trooping of the Colors, a colorful event during which the elite Royal Guards pledge their allegiance to him. The Queen, wearing a scarlet uniform, accompanies him on this occasion in her capacity as Colonel-in-Chief of the 21st Royal Guards Infantry Regiment.

The Royal Ploughing Ceremony, a Brahman ritual marking the official start of the rice-planting season that originated in Ayutthaya, was revived at King Bhumibol's suggestion in 1960 and is now held annually at Sanam Luang, a large oval-shaped expanse across from the Grand Palace. Symbolic seeds are sown in the field with the aid of buffaloes, lustral water is sprinkled and arcane rites are performed to predict the forthcoming harvest.

Early in his reign, the King began personally handing out degrees at the graduation ceremonies of every Thai university, as well as at the military academies. The recent growth in number of such institutions has made it necessary to delegate this responsibility to other members of the royal family in some cases, but the King still presides over the ceremonies at Chulalongkorn and Thammasat universities, and photographs of the event are among the most treasured of a graduate's possessions.

In addition, separately or together, the King and Queen preside over a large number of other ritual functions, among them the casting of Buddha images at various monasteries throughout the country, lighting the funeral pyre at important cremations, sprinkling lustral water on honored dignitaries at birthday and wedding celebrations and receiving in audience both visiting heads of state and officials of the Thai government.

Through such events, the magical mystery of monarchy is retained along with its innovative modern activities.

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Discovering the Charms Of Provincial Thailand

Only a few decades ago, the great majority of visitors to Thailand not only entered the country at Bangkok but also remained there for most of their stay.

Today, thanks to improved transportation plus an increased desire to have a more authentically Thai experience, many visitors are giving the capital the briefest of looks before heading out for more alluring provincial attractions.

Perhaps the most popular destination is the north, now easily accessible by plane, train and tour bus. It offers cooler weather, a distinctive culture and adventure in the form of elephant rides through teak forests and treks to remote hill-tribe villages. The traditional center of the region is Chiang Mai, overlooked by the low mountain where the royal family has its northern residence, which can serve as a base for side trips to such historic towns as Lamphun and Lampang and also to the national park on Doi Inthanon, Thailand's highest mountain.

Younger travelers who find Chiang Mai too cuffed these days are going farther into the surrounding countryside to such once-isolated places as Mae Hong Son, a leisurely Shangri-La in a misty valley near the Burmese frontier — or to the former opium-growing area where journalists have dubbed the Golden Triangle, where the borders of Thailand, Burma and Laos meet. The big attraction here is trekking through beautiful scenery and visiting such tribal groups as Hmong, Yao, Lahu and Akha.

Chiang Rai has become the headquarters for discovery of the Triangle in the past few years, with dozens of new hotels, guest houses and trekking agencies, but a number of facilities have gone up right on the Mekong River, offering clear views of all three countries.

Sukhothai, in the north-central region, affords an evocative glimpse of Thailand's past. A 10-year project by the Thai Fine

Arts Department and UNESCO has restored much of the former capital and created the Sukhothai Historical Park, dotted with the remains of imposing temples and Buddha images of haunting beauty. On the occasion of Loy Krathong, the water festival, a dazzling sound-and-light show is held in the complex, complete with ancient costumes, music and the ritual of setting little candlelit, lotus-shaped boats adrift in ponds and canals.

The northeast was long terra incognita as far as tourists were concerned, famous for its problems but not much else. The King and Queen drew attention to the region with their many local development projects — they have a palace at Sakon Nakhon — and the Tourism Authority of Thailand is now actively promoting its various attractions.

These include some of the finest Khmer ruins to be seen outside Cambodia, particularly Phimai and Phanom Rung, both of which date from the period of Angkor Wat and have been carefully restored to their former glory. Another, even more spectacular temple, Khao Phra Viharn — technically on Cambodian territory but most easily accessible from the Thai side — is expected to be open to visitors soon. The broad Mekong River that forms the border of Laos is another draw (a bridge linking the two countries has been announced), along with several exuberant annual festivals like the Elephant Roundup held each November in Surin Province and the Candle Festival that marks the beginning of Buddhist Lent during July in Ubon Ratchathani.

Nearer Bangkok, on the west coast of the Gulf of Thailand, is Hua Hin, the country's oldest seaside resort. King Rama VII popularized this former fishing



Phuket, one of Thailand's most popular tourist attractions.

village among the aristocracy when he built a retreat he called Klai Klangwol, "Far From Care," in the 1920s; ironically, he was staying there in 1932 when news came of the revolution that ended the absolute monarchy. Though developed considerably in recent years, Hua Hin still has a restful, laid-back atmosphere very different from that of Pattaya, its rowdy rival across the gulf. (The royal family still goes frequently to Klai Klangwol, using it as a base to oversee area projects.)

The long southern peninsula that extends down to Malaysia is fast overtaking the north as a choice destination, mainly among visitors in search of the perfect combination of sun, sea and serenity. Although a railway was built through the region as long ago as the 1920s, good roads and regular plane service have come only in relatively recent years.

The island of Phuket, off the west coast in the Andaman Sea, was pioneered by intrepid backpackers in the '70s. With more than a dozen picture-postcard

beaches, each separated by dramatic rocky outcrops, it offered the ultimate in escapist fantasy; an added lure was nearby Phang Nga Bay, where hundreds of jungle-clad limestone precipices rise sheer from the sea, as well as a number of even more isolated offshore islands.

Mass tourism was quick to follow, with the result that Phuket's primitive, thatched-roofed accommodations have been largely replaced by luxury hotels and bungalow complexes, and a new international airport handles charter flights direct from Europe and Australia. A surprising amount of the old serenity still remains, however.

Die-hard escapist, meanwhile, have found new beauty spots in the region: Krabi, for example, not far from Phang Nga Bay, and, on the other side of the peninsula, the island of Koh Samui in the Gulf of Thailand.

Koh Samui is being hailed as the new Phuket, with an air link to Bangkok and the inevitable upmarket facilities beginning to appear.

The Environmental Queen

Speaking a few years ago at a dinner held in honor of Prince Philip, chairman of the World Wildlife Fund, Queen Sirikit expressed her views firmly. "It must not be recorded in history that our generation was responsible for the destruction of all our forests and wild animals," she said. "They are part of our heritage. They belong here and have as much right to exist as we do."

The Queen's concern about Thailand's environment, like that of the King's, has come from direct experience. When the couple came to the throne four decades ago, about 60 percent of their kingdom was covered by forest, through which roamed wild elephants, gaur and tigers; even an occasional group of kouprey, or wild cattle, could be found in some sparsely settled areas.

Today, as their regular trips through the countryside reveal all too starkly, the forest cover has shrunk to 20 percent and wildlife has become rare outside national parks and preserves. The kouprey has disappeared entirely, now seen only as the logo of the Wildlife Fund Thailand, of which the Queen serves as patron and active supporter.

Stirred by this disquieting evidence, both the King and Queen became dedicated "green" advocates long before most of their subjects were aware of any sense of urgency. Over the years, they have become involved in numerous environmental projects throughout the country and regularly give voice to their concern. On the occasion of his birthday in 1990, for example, the King gave an audience of some 6,000 well-wishers a long speech on air pollution, the greenhouse effect and other smog subjects.

One of the largest of the royal efforts is Phu Khieo Wildlife Preservation Zone, a 1,560-square-kilometer tract in the northeastern province of Chaiyaphum. This was created in 1972 after Thai newspapers reported the killing of a rare Sumatran rhinoceros in the densely forested area, the third such incident in a relatively short time. The first years saw a series of clashes between the Royal Forestry Department and hunters, loggers and farmers who had settled in the area; real progress did not begin until

nearly a decade later, when the King and Queen initiated a multifaceted effort to make Phu Khieo a model for similar projects elsewhere.

Their proposal was not merely to conserve the remaining wildlife in the forest but also to replenish it through captive breeding of endangered species and releasing them back into the wild. At the same time, the Queen's SUPPORT foundation began training villagers to earn supplementary income by producing crafts, a research and study center was set up, and educational programs stressed the importance of the sanctuary as a key watershed area to the people living in and around it.

In December 1987, to mark Thailand's first Wildlife Freedom Day, the first captive-bred stock — 70 mammals and 320 birds — was released into the sanctuary. At the same time, some 4,000 former hunters in the area took a solemn vow never to hunt or poach again.

In the words of a recent study by the United Nations Environmental Program, Phu Khieo is "aimed at maintaining a national heritage for the people, future generations of whom may otherwise come to think that the habitats of tigers and elephants are cages and pens in department stores or in tourist attractions on the fringes of metropolitan Bangkok."

On Mannai Island, off the coast of the southern peninsula, the Queen has started another project on behalf of the giant sea turtle, whose numbers were being decimated because of the demand for their eggs, meat and shells. She worked with the government's fishery department to set up a hatchery and ponds where young turtles could be reared until they were ready for the sea, and she personally donated 200 turtles to start the operation.

Birdlife constitutes one of

Thailand's richest natural resources, with nearly 950 different species identified so far. The Queen has sought to increase public appreciation at the Bang Sai Bird Park, near her SUPPORT Center on the Chao Phraya River, where a huge aviary covering 160 hectares has become home to over 100 species of birds. Trees, a waterfall and a stream add to the natural atmosphere of the park, the first of its kind in the country.

By a somewhat roundabout route, the Queen has given a new start in Thailand to one species, a large wading bird known as the Eastern Saurus Crane. Fifty years ago, it was common in Thai swamps, but hunting and drainage had such a dire effect that by 1960 it had disappeared entirely.

It survived in other places, however, including northern Australia, where a world authority on cranes, George Archibald, found a number of them in the early 1980s. The Queen gave full support to his suggestion that some be reintroduced into Thailand. Six Australian chicks were raised at the International Crane Foundation in Wisconsin and then, in 1984, flown to the Bang Phra Non-Hunting Area of Chonburi Province, where they were formally presented to the Queen for release.

One of the project officers remarked at the time, "As these birds are the Queen's property, who will dare harm them?" The significance of Queen Sirikit's involvement in environmental matters lies in that comment. Given the immense respect the King and Queen command at all levels of Thai society, any concern they express inevitably reaches a wide public and is translated into action.

By supporting Thailand's forests and wildlife, the Queen is setting an example for both present and future generations.

Shopping for Thai Handicrafts

Visitors in search of bargains will seek out the traditional crafts for which Thailand has long been famous and which still offer countless opportunities.

The most celebrated Thai craft is undoubtedly the country's lustrous silk, an ancient art that underwent a spectacular revival just after World War II, thanks in large part to an American named Jim Thompson, and is now in demand all over the world. In addition to older varieties, like the northeastern mudmee ikat popularized by the Queen, there are up-to-date weaves and prints for both fashion and home furnishings, sold in hundreds of shops in Bangkok and elsewhere.

Another good buy is supple, handwoven Thai cotton, a specialty of the north and northeast, less expensive than silk but available in many of the same weights and patterns at better shops.

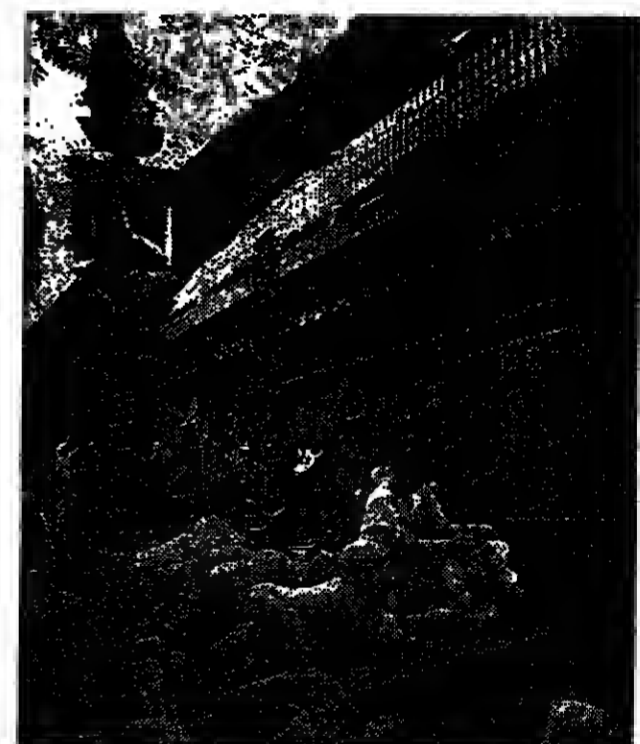
For at least 700 years, the Thais have been gifted workers in metal, as shown by the huge images produced in the first capital of Sukhothai. Bronze tableware and accessories, coated with gleaming brass, are especially popular with visitors looking for something both practical and characteristic of the country. Of more recent inspiration are larger decorative

bronze objects — animals and abstract forms — that in Thailand cost a fraction of the prices they command in design centers abroad.

Another art that goes back to Sukhothai is the production of fine ceramics. Sea-green celadon is available in everything from dinner plates to lamp bases, as are faithful but inexpensive replicas of Chinese blue-and-white export ware. A good place to buy the latter is the Weekend Market held every Saturday and Sunday at Chatuchak Park.

Artificial flowers, plants and even full-sized trees made in Thailand have captured a sizable share of the world market. On-the-scene prices, needless to say, are far lower, even at large Bangkok department stores where entire sections are devoted to such goods.

The kingdom mines a variety of native precious and semiprecious stones, particularly sapphires and rubies, but only in the past few decades has it become noted as a place to buy cut gems from elsewhere along with beautifully crafted jewelry. In 1977, the gov-



Perennial favorite: wood carvings from Chiang Mai.

ernment abolished import duties on loose stones, which means that gems can be brought for cutting from as far afield as South America.

The country now has an estimated 100,000 skilled gem cutters, a gemological institute and countless goldsmiths and designers. Last year, the gem and jewelry export business ranked as the second-largest earner of foreign exchange, even exceeding the traditional rice trade.

Thai law prohibits the export of certain antiques without a permit, but there are still many bargains to be found in the craft category, among them old textiles and baskets, silverware, furniture and items from neighboring Burma, Laos and Cambodia. A thriving industry producing "instant antiques" has sprung up, especially in the north, confusing some tourists, but these are equally desirable as decorative objects, providing the price is right.

The northern city of Chiang Mai ranks as the leading source of traditional handicrafts, though its products are widely available not only in Bangkok but also in such resorts as Phuket in the far south. Wood carvings produced by local artisans are a perennial favorite, especially fanciful animals and ornate frames, while other well-known crafts include lacquer ware, silver-embroidered textiles, terracotta and hand-painted paper parasols. Tribal groups from surrounding hills also make a wide variety of distinctive crafts.

In addition to the Weekend Market, Chiang Mai's Night Bazaar and innumerable private shops, good places to find high-quality crafts include the Chitralada outlets; the government-owned Narayana Phand on Rajadamri Road in Bangkok, where a wide selection of local products has been assembled from various regions; and the River City Shopping Center.

Thai traditions

The traditional Thai greeting is the wai.

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سكوا من الامم

Kabul Battle Rages, And Jets Join Fight

ISLAMABAD — A dissident mujahidin group pounded Kabul with rocket fire again Tuesday while pro-government forces used air power against the rebels outside Kabul, Afghan sources said.

An overnight lull ended when the hard-line Islamic Party launched another round of heavy rocket fire on the capital, the guerrilla sources said by telephone from Peshawar, a Pakistani border town.

Government planes flew over the city, bombing rocket positions of the Islamic guerrillas in Logar, to the south of Kabul, the sources said.

Government forces seized at least one rocket brigade captured by the guerrillas under Gulbuddin Hekmatyar last April, when the Communist government in Kabul collapsed, the sources said.

Troops loyal to Defense Minister Ahmad Shah Massoud also captured the Kabul residence of Prime Minister Abdul Saboor Farid, who is Mr. Hekmatyar's nominee to the three-month-old Islamic govern-

ment, one source said. Mr. Farid is visiting Tehran.

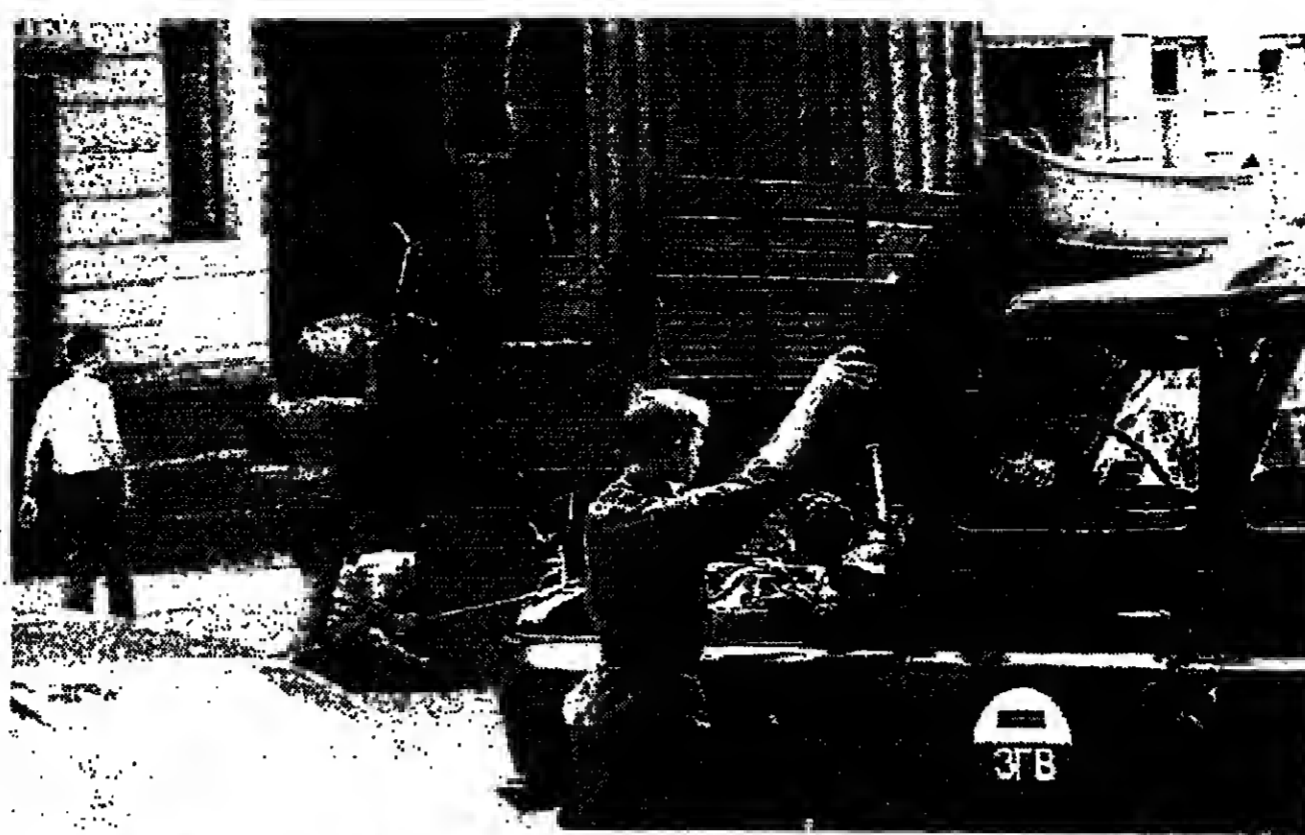
Mr. Hekmatyar, one of several mujahidin partners in the interim coalition, stepped up sporadic bombardment of Kabul last week, forcing the capital's airport to close.

More than 1,000 people have been killed or wounded in the city since the offensive began on Monday. Kabul was hit by more than 650 rockets in the first 90 minutes after dawn.

Mr. Hekmatyar has refused to cooperate fully with President Burhanuddin Rabbani until a group of former Communist Uzbek militia withdraws from the city.

Heavy fighting was raging between the powerful Uzbek militia and Mr. Hekmatyar's forces about 10 miles (16 kilometers) outside Kabul in Hod Kbel, near the Military University, the sources said.

Kabul was under virtual siege, with only tanks moving in the streets. "A curfew-like situation prevails," a source said.



HEADING BACK TO SMOLENSK — Russian troops loading furniture on trucks in Dresden on Tuesday as part of the withdrawal of 45,000 soldiers of the 1st Tank Division from Saxony to the Smolensk area. Each family is allotted one container for its possessions.

AMERICAN TOPICS

A Test to Forecast Chances of Divorce

Psychologists at the University of Washington in Seattle say they have devised a simple interview that will predict 94 times out of 100 which couples will still be married four years later, even newlyweds. They said the test could be used by counselors or clergymen, or by couples themselves.

Husband and wife are asked how they met, courted and decided to marry; their philosophy of what makes a marriage work, and how their lives have changed over the years. The researchers are less interested in the answers than in how the couple express themselves.

The main criteria included:

- Affection and expressiveness toward the spouse, or, conversely, negativity or vagueness.
- "We-ness" versus separateness.
- Volatility, or intensity of feelings when dealing with conflict.
- Pride, or lack of it, in getting through hard times in the marriage.

For the moment the bus fare is \$5 one way between New York and Washington, \$10 round trip, because of a fare war between the two largest U.S. bus companies, Greyhound and Peter Pan Trailways. This is less than the \$5.50 fare in 1959 for the 239-mile (386-kilometer) trip. The regular fare is \$25. The \$5 fare does not cover half the companies' operating expenses.

Appalachian Trail Not for Everybody

The Appalachian Trail stretches 2,000 miles (3,200 kilometers) from Georgia to Maine, through a network of public forests and parks. Hiking the entire trail takes months. David M. Ritchey of Alexandria, Virginia, planned to walk only 100 miles of it, but concedes in a Washington Post article that even this was over-ambitious during the summer.

"Extraordinary stamina is required for carrying heavy loads over a snaking, dipping, oppressive trail," he recalls. "Your gear and the food needed to sustain you for five days at the rate you'll burn calories will equal one-fourth (or more) of your body weight."

He adds, "Big flies, gnats, mosquitoes, ticks and chiggers constantly seek your sweetest spots of flesh. Slaughter on more bug juice to repel them adds to the maddening stum accreting on your skin."

The nights aren't much fun, either. Hikers are "denied a campfire by law and the unending heat, denied the comfort of its dancing yellow light that beats back prowling animals and grotesque shadows."

In brief, as the title of Mr. Ritchey's article put it, "This trail can take a hike."

Arthur Higbee

Short Takes

An \$800 wheelchair with four fat tires like a dune buggy allows disabled people to navigate beaches. The chair was invented by Mike Hensler, 42, a Daytona Beach, Florida, lifeguard. He said he had built 70 of the chairs since last year, mostly for sale to resort operators, who make them available to disabled visitors.

CRACK: A Pistol Shot Ends Torment of a 'Crack Mother' in New York

(Continued from page 1)

The shooting occurred. "I never meant to kill that kid," she said.

"That was my only daughter," she added. "I ain't going to have more children. I'm 68 years old and I'm never going to have any more kids."

After the shooting, Mrs. Hutson made a videotape confession, and prosecutors took the highly unusual step of having her released on her own recognizance on a second-degree murder charge. The case is to go to a grand jury.

Detective James Gibbons of the 113th Precinct said she appeared both grief-stricken and relieved after the shooting.

"They were very close at one point and seeing a mother that age, well, even as a cop you feel for her," Mr. Gibbons said. "Of course, from a cop's point of view you also have a person who was shot dead."

Friends and neighbors described Mrs. Hutson, a retired accounts clerk for the Postal Service, as a devoted mother who had given too much. She ran out of patience, they said, with her daughter's lies, robberies and demands for money.

Neighbors described the daughter as a long-time drug abuser who took advantage of her mother at every turn. Several stays in drug-treatment centers were to no avail during her eight-year use of crack, but the mother had hope.

"I did all I could to save her," she said. "I didn't just decide to kill her."

Addicts often prey on their relatives, but crack has made the problem particularly difficult.

"Crack is fraught with more paranoia and psychosis and more violence than most other drugs," said Dr. Robert Millman, director of the drug and alcohol abuse program at New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center.

Since the shooting, neighbors, friends and colleagues from the post office rallied to Mrs. Hutson's support, and a stream of visitors arrived at her one-story white-tingle house in Jamaica, Queens—a tree-lined block of mostly single- and two-story homes with neat lawns—to help prepare for the wake and funeral.

"Her daughter broke into her house two or three times that I know of," said Valerie Linton, a friend and neighbor who brought over baked chicken and macaroni and cheese. "She stole everything, cameras, a VCR, anything she could find, but Daisy never complained. She just loved her daughter so much."

Renee Hutson was once a healthy woman weighing 160 pounds (72 kilograms), but she wasted away to 90 pounds over a few years. She kept her hair short. Before she began using drugs, she was quick to laugh and loved shopping, her mother said. She had a stable life and had worked for years as a medical supply clerk in a chemical laboratory.

"Oh, my baby loved clothes," Mrs. Hutson said. "It was nothing for her to go out and buy a \$300 suit. She always looked good."

The mother and daughter resembled each other and were almost inseparable during those years. That closeness changed after Renee used crack for the first time while attending a party in Harlem, Mrs. Hutson said.

"She had a couple hundred dollars with her that night," Mrs. Hutson said. "She told me, 'Ma, I spent all of my money that night.' From then on, she just went down."

She started selling her clothes, jewelry and furniture to support her habit, Mrs. Hutson looked down at her outstretched left hand and pointed to a diamond ring.

"I paid \$1,500 for this one-and-a-half-carat ring years ago," Mrs. Hutson said. "I bought Renee one too. But she sold hers for \$50 to buy

crack. Everything I bought for me, I bought for her."

As their relations deteriorated, Mrs. Hutson obtained a court order of protection, forbidding the daughter to enter her house. She even began proceedings to oust her daughter from a small bungalow bought for her 18 years before, fearing the place might be seized in a drug arrest.

On Aug. 4, the daughter rang the bell of her grandmother's apartment, where Mrs. Hutson was caring for the 91-year-old woman. The daughter is said to have told Mrs. Hutson she needed money to pay drug dealers who were after her. When Mrs. Hutson refused, her daughter became abusive. Mrs. Hutson called the police, but Renee was gone by the time they arrived.

That afternoon, she returned, pushed her way into the apartment and renewed her demands. This time she had bruises on her face. She told her mother that the drug dealer had hit her. Mrs. Hutson told her to wait outside and again dialed for the police.

But the police declined to arrest her for violation of the protection order, saying it applied only to Mrs. Hutson's house on Inwood Street. Mrs. Hutson then told them there was a warrant out for her daughter's arrest.

"They told her they weren't the warrant squad," said Wellesey Blackburn, a neighbor and friend.

At 4 P.M., Renee called her mother at the grandmother's apartment with more threats.

"That was it for me," the mother recounted. "She said, 'Ma, they're going to beat me again and then they're going to come over here and get you and Grandma.'"

"I went to get my gun and, I'll be damned, I went over there and shot her," Mrs. Hutson said.

MAJOR: Critics Assail 'Passivity'

(Continued from page 1)

As he put it the day after he came to power in November 1990.

But trouble started even before Britain's turn at the helm began, when Danish voters in early June rejected the treaty on European monetary and political union signed in Maastricht in December.

Since then, Mr. Major has had to withdraw ratification of the treaty from the British parliamentary agenda for fear that the Thatcherite anti-European wing of his own party might attract enough support to sink the accord before final passage. Originally the government saw no problems in ratifying the Maastricht treaty by the end of the year; recently, Mr. Major conceded that it might not happen until next year, assuming French voters do not kill it by rejecting it in a referendum on Sept. 20.

As it stands, the treaty, which lays the framework for a common currency by the end of the decade, cannot go into effect until all 12 member nations ratify it.

In the sour political mood of August, even Mr. Major's close personal ties with Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany have been cited as evidence of his passivity; Britain, the conservative magazine The Spectator argued earlier this month, has surrendered control over its monetary policy to the Germans.

Mr. Lamont came under fire last

month for agreeing with his European Community colleagues to a minimum rate of value added tax, the levy on all goods and services in the European Community, of 15 percent. Britain's rate is already higher, at 17.5 percent.

The idea was to prevent "cheap" countries from undercutting "expensive" ones when the last international European tariff barriers come down at the end of the year. But Mr. Lamont was accused in the press of having surrendered one more sovereign British prerogative over taxes to his European colleagues.

A 'Star War' Rift Holds Up Funds

WASHINGTON — The Senate has apparently abandoned a military spending authorization bill for fiscal year 1993 in a dispute over efforts to cut funds for the Strategic Defense Initiative missile defense system.

The decision to shelve the bill could mean that the Pentagon may be forced to settle for less money than it has requested for some programs. Congress is required by law to pass an authorization bill before it can appropriate funds. How lawmakers will resolve the problem is uncertain.

Los Angeles Times Service

INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

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Rome, October 22-23, 1992

Co-sponsored by the International Herald Tribune & Corriere della Sera

OCTOBER 22
The conference will open with a dinner to be addressed by Manfred Wörner, Secretary General, NATO

OCTOBER 23
The Contribution of NATO in the Search for European Security
General John M. Shalkashvill, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, SHAPE

New Instruments for Collective Security: Efforts to Coordinate NATO, the CSCE, the UN and WEU
François Heisbourg, Director, The International Institute for Strategic Studies, London

Lunch
Guest Speaker: Salvo Ando, Minister of Defense, Italy

EUROPEAN SECURITY & DOMESTIC CONSENSUS
Moderator: Luigi Caligaris, Defense Correspondent, *Indipendente*, Rome
After the War
Willy Brandt, former Chancellor, West Germany
After the Soviet Union
Alexander Yakovlev, former Advisor to Mikhail Gorbachev

The Defense Industry in the New European Context
Riccardo Parisich, Director General, Industrial Affairs & the Internal Market, EC

VALEDICTORY REMARKS
Emilio Colombo, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Italy

Cocktails

REGISTRATION INFORMATION: The fee for the conference is £385.00. This includes dinner on Thursday, October 22, lunch, a cocktail reception and all conference documentation. Fees are payable in advance and will be refunded less a £40.00 cancellation charge for any cancellation received in writing on or before October 12, after which time we regret there can be no refund. However, substitutions may be made at any time.

REGISTRATION FORM: To register for the conference, please complete the form below and fax it to Jane Blackmore, International Herald Tribune, 83 Long Acre, London WC2E 6JH Tel. (44 71) 838 4802. Fax: (44 71) 836 0717.

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INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

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H.M. The Queen's Birthday :

The whole Nation rejoices.

The year of 1992 in Thailand has taken on an especial meaning for the people of Thailand as they celebrate the 60th birthday of Her Majesty Queen Sirikit.

The Thai calendar is divided into cycles of 12 years each. The completion of the fifth cycle is considered a most auspicious occasion, and the nation has thrown itself whole-heartedly into marking the event.

Across the country communities have staged a variety of shows, dinners, dances and festivals to share the birthday, and also to raise money for the many charities which the Queen graciously supports.

Queen Sirikit's romance with the country, and with the monarchy, goes back to the Spring of 1948 where the meeting of a young couple proved to be the opening chapter of a story that has captured the hearts of millions of people over the past four decades.

Twenty-one year old Crown Prince Bhumibol Adulyadej was enjoying a break from his engineering studies in Lausanne, Switzerland.

Seventeen-year-old Mom Rajawongse Sirikit Kitiyakara, meanwhile, was studying advanced music and languages, subjects which she began two years earlier in London where her diplomat father was stationed.

The couple got on rather well from the beginning, with their common interests, notably mu-

sic, and close family links, helping foster the relationship.

Later that year the Crown prince was involved in a serious motor car accident in Switzerland, and the young M.R. Sirikit and her mother travelled to be at his bedside. During his long convalescence the pair grew even closer, and on July 19, 1949, their engagement was announced.

M.R. Sirikit Kitiyakara's father, HRH Prince Chandaburi Suranath, who was a descendant of King Chulalongkorn, was posted to London with the diplomatic corps after World War II, and his daughter joined him there, and later in Paris, where her destiny was to be so dramatically changed.

The year 1950 will always be remembered in Thailand for the Royal marriage ceremony which was performed by H.M. Queen Sawang Wattana, Royal Grandmother of the King, and local reports cited thousands of people flooding the capital in spontaneous festivity; "A grand and memorable occasion for the whole nation."

All agreed that the new Queen - "radiantly beautiful" - was everything a nation could want and more.

Five days after the marriage, the Coronation of the King, now

officially Rama IX, took place, while at a parallel ceremony, Mom Rachawongse Sirikit was becoming Queen.

Forty-two years after the hectic days of 1950, Thailand prepares once again to stage a "grand and memorable occasion" on August 12, both for the Queen's birthday, and for national Mothers' Day, which has been proclaimed in Her Majesty's honor as the Symbol of Motherhood.

In an interview some years ago Her Majesty Queen Sirikit was asked about the extent to which His Majesty the King has encouraged her to devote so much of her time to improving the welfare of her people. Smiling softly, the Queen responded; "He didn't encourage me at all - he ordered me. He said he would look after the land and I must look after their families". Queen Sirikit speaking of her husband the King, "It changed my life."

Indeed, Her Majesty the Queen's life was changed, but in the process she has also changed thousands of lives for the better through her steadfast commitment to welfare programmes.

Her Majesty's untiring efforts have won her the recognition not only of the people of Thailand but the world community, which has honored her with a number of prestigious awards.

One of the hallmarks of their majesties has been their untiring tours across the length and breadth of Thailand.

The journeys began during the early days of the reign, and continue to this day with the Royal couple sometimes spending as much as 8 months of the year



working from their four Royal residences outside Bangkok.

In 1976 the Queen set up the Foundation for Promotion of Supplementary Occupations and Related Techniques (SUPPORT) with an initial and personal donation of 3,500,000 Baht and private donations.

Its main objectives are to train low-income farming families to earn extra money through folk arts and craft, and it now has more than 35 centers around the country, involving 200 villages and 9,000 artisans employed in various projects.

Vying For The World Exports:

Thailand's Export Promotion Drive

Walk through a supermarket in Abu Dhabi, packaged foods from Thailand can be found on almost every aisle. Pick up garments in department stores across the U.S., again the made in Thailand label. Examine branded electronic products in Japan and Europe, at the least, some of the components will come from Thailand.

Thailand's solid reputation began with an outstanding performance as an agricultural producer. Its exports have maintained one of the world's highest growth rates over the past four years, averaging almost 25%. Exports in 1991 totalled more than US\$ 28 billion making Thailand the world's 25th largest exporter. While export growth should slow during 1992 in response to global economic conditions, projections still see a respectable increase to roughly \$ 34 billion.

The key to Thailand's export growth has been the country's aggressive policy to diversify its export base over the past decade. Farm shipments have dropped from 68% of total exports to 17%. Today Thailand sells abroad more textiles, computers and components, integrated circuits and jewelry than rice, its traditional export mainstay.

The Director-General of the Department of Export Promotion, Oranuj Osatananda, is confident about the continued strong growth of exports despite the negative image left by the May tragedy. The reason is simple: production was not affected and exporters have been able to meet their delivery deadlines while maintaining quality. "We have not been affected directly by the May incident," Oranuj says, "We are affected only by the competitiveness of the product itself."

However, while basically confident, Oranuj also warns, "At this point we cannot be complacent. We are at the edge. There is more world competition. We have to adjust, improve our products without adding to the cost. This involves the use of more hi-tech equipment in production so that we can increase quality even more."

It is here that the role of the DEP grows in importance. It is the Thai government's designated export promotion agency, under the Ministry of Commerce and, thus, is responsible for advising the government on all matters relating to promoting export efficiency. Overseas, the DEP operates through its own network, through Thai Trade Centers in Europe, America, Australia, Japan and Hong Kong as well as through Commercial Counsellors' offices.

Confidence:

How Others View Us Today

There are many international investors in Thailand. These are the views of two: Monsanto and Citicorp

"Monsanto has a 40-year history of growth in Thailand driven largely by the strength of our local Thai organization. Our positive experience there has convinced us of the desirability of making a major investment in performance plastics in Thailand to serve our customers in the Southern Asia/China region.

"Despite recent political events, Monsanto remains confident that the resiliency of the Thai people, the favourable Thai climate for foreign investments, our strong local partner and Thailand's

Entrepreneurship :

The key To Economic Strength

As in every agrarian society, in the beginning there were landlords and peasants. These were leavened in Thailand's case during the late 19th century by an influx of Chinese, who gradually assimilated, becoming the intermediaries who facilitated the country's development.

Spurred on by a private sector that was quick to see opportunities and seize upon them, Thailand's economy blossomed and, in doing so, spawned a succession of sprawling conglomerates. Most shared the same dynastic beginnings - a strong, self-made entrepreneurial leader, whose skill and will-power drove the group to the top.

Corporate Dynasties

These business dynasties prospered. In 1970, thirty-six were listed as Thailand's most powerful commercial groups, according to Wall Street economist and project analyst Peter Beal. They were to remain, as Beal put it, "unique and supreme", until the 1980's when a new element came on the scene - the returned overseas-educated technocrats and managers, many of

whom were graduates of the top universities and technical schools in the United States and Europe.

Parallel to the rise of these Sino-Thai dynasties was the founding at the royal initiative of the Siam Commercial bank and the Siam cement Group. Both today are credited as being leaders in management technology, integrity and profitability. A training ground for technocrats and entrepreneurs, along with some of the more efficient state enterprises - such as the Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand and the Petroleum Authority of Thailand - they have helped build a pool of managerial talent.

The '80's Generation

In the 1980's, however, the face of entrepreneurship in Thailand began to change dramatically.

Economic reform under Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda brought about not only growth, but a dramatic opening of business opportunity as Thailand began its steady climb up the economic ladder. This proved irresistible for overseas-educated young Thai business men and business women. Here are just two examples...

Korn Chatikavanij, 28, Managing Director of Jardine Fleming Thanakom Securities, has just about everything going for him. Educated at Winchester College and Oxford, with two and half years at S.G. Warburg Merchant Bank in London, Korn says about his return to Thailand, "Right place, right time, in one of the most exciting environments in the world" The Thai Stock Exchange he calls, "a big plate for steak" and Thailand, "the country of the future."

Watanan Suthwartnarueput, 31, takes fame in her stride. As Thailand's "first and only securities representative", she opened up James Capel (Far East) Ltd's Bangkok office in 1987 and recently did the same for S.G. Warburg. "Nan" says her worldwide education as an ambassador's daughter - that saw her graduate from the Fletcher

School of Diplomacy and join the Banker's Trust executive training program - was exactly the right background for what she is doing now.

"I came back to Thailand in 1985, just before the economic turnaround, so I could see it all happen," she remarks "yes, there may be rough spots ahead, but if we make the right internal adjustments, things won't go wrong."

Implication For Growth

The effervescence experienced in the private sector since 1987 has carried over into every sector of the economy. Private sector entrepreneurship has raised expectations, increased performance standards and helped people the governmental reforms that promise to launch Thailand's full-fledged economic take-off in the 1990s.

Self-serving, money-losing state enterprises and companies that no longer measure up are being phased out or revitalized. The future emphasis now is on pulling together and this challenge is being met successfully by astute well-managed public companies, such as the Siam Cement Group, and progressive financial institutions like the Siam Commercial Bank.

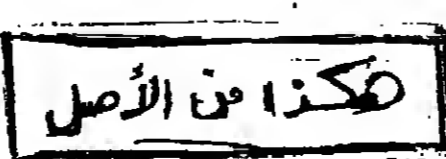
central location in Southeast Asia will prove this investment to be a prudent and productive decision."

Earle H. Harbison, Jr.
President and Chief Operating Officer Monsanto Company

"Because of sound fundamentals, the outlook for Thailand's economy over the near and long term remains good. Continued steady growth in the trading, manufacturing and service sectors, coupled with the additional stimuli provided by infrastructure investments and in-

creased consumer spending, by a sound and stable base, should produce annual real GDP growth in the 10% range over the next five years. Such growth will facilitate continued economic diversity and improved livelihoods. The Government's liberalization and market opening measures, implemented over the past years have helped improve what was once a very poor investment climate. These measures, together with the improved Thailand's competitiveness and the potential for future economic growth."

John S. Reed, Chairman of Citicorp



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Thailand: Still on track.

H.E.. The Prime Minister: A Special Interview

A former diplomat and businessman, Cambridge-educated Anand Panyarachun has been called "Thailand's reluctant trustee". Twice he has been asked to head governments after extraordinary events. Twice he has accepted - first after a military coup in 1991 and again after the May tragedy. Although he disdains the image of being a white knight, both times he has surprised the country and disarmed the critics with his sense of vision, his determination and his patriotism.

His present government, called Anand II in the Thai way, has as its central mission the holding of free and fair elections on September 13, 1992, and is expected to resign once a new government is formed. Here is an edited summary of an interview conducted in July.

The Aftermath of Tragedy

The most immediate consequence of the events in May was not the negative image projected abroad. As far as the Thai people were concerned there was a deep sense of disillusionment, frustration and hopelessness. What saved the day was the King's "intervention" which brought together the two leaders of the opposing forces, right in the middle of the crisis and in full view of the entire nation. The physical violence virtually stopped and there was a universal sense of relief. That was the beginning of a very long mending process.

When I was appointed Prime Minister, there was another period of general relief. I'm a beneficiary of that and I set my mind to try to restore first of all a sense of self-confidence in the Thai people, because if the Thai people do not believe in themselves and in the future of Thailand, it doesn't

matter how many millions you spend on public relations or advertising, you won't achieve what you set out to do.



H.E. Prime Minister Anand Panyarachun

Democratic Development

I hold the belief that democracy is a bad system, but there is none better, as Winston Churchill said. I believe in the fundamental right of people to

choose their own representatives. My personal interest is to see that right is preserved and is exercised by the voters. I have no way and I have no wish to tell them who to vote for.

The September Election

I am quite sure the results of the forthcoming election will be better than the last one. How much better I do not know. We still have time to conduct a democratic campaign. The events in May have become a catalyst. Definitely political awareness and consciousness have been raised. The momentum is there and more and more people will begin to appreciate the difference between "good" elected representatives and "not so good."

This year you see a radical change in the attitudes of the people. More and more people are prepared to get involved in the political process.

The Next Parliament

The majority of the old faces will be returned. But in the different social and political environment that has been brought about by the events of May and by the accumulated changes that have taken place in our society in the last ten years, even the old faces will have to conduct themselves better in the next Parliament.

Political Stability in Thailand

When you talk about political stability - and this a belief I have held for a number of years - those who know Thailand also know that in the past 40 years we might have had 15 or 17 coups and 16 or 17 constitutions, and yet Thailand was not much af-

ected by these changes.

The type of changes which occurred were mainly cosmetic - changes of individuals. But there was hardly any interruption of a market direction in our economic and financial policies.

Moreover, the bureaucracy was there in times of crisis to carry the flag. Politicians and military figures came and went, but they were not material to what was a rather stable process of gradual economic improvement, a gradual orientation of our economy to international markets and a gradual orientation to more political freedom.

"In total we will have had 18 months of formulation, enactment and consolidation of policies."

Anand I and Policy Stability

In total we will have had 18 months of formulation, enactment and consolidation of policies and measures. I do not see how anyone is going to reverse that, even if he wanted to.

Why? Because if you look at all our political parties there are no major differences in their economic orientation. None of our political parties has come and said that if they were in power they would adopt policies different from what has been going on before.

We made a concrete beginning of the process of modernizing our economy to prepare ourselves to be competitive in the international marketplace. We convinced our people of the need and desirability of integrating our economy with global trade.

Economic Outlook: Moving Up The Ladder

Business Analysis: The End of Complacency

The events of May shattered many illusions - Thai as well as foreign. Inevitably reaction will set in. As tourism receipts wilt, and foreign investment continues the decline begun a few years back and real growth rates slow, contrarian thought will reign supreme for a brief moment and Thailand - once touted as the next newly industrialized economy (NIE) - will become the also-ran of the '90s.

Balance will return - almost certainly by '94, if not before. By then bargain-hungry tourists will be revelling one of the world's premier destinations. Foreign investment flows - which have as much to do with home market economics as Thailand's attractiveness - should again be increasing.

What will be different, one hopes, is that complacency will have been driven from the Thai marketplace - complacency both for foreign business and especially the Thai people, who tended to take for granted their cycle of coup and politics as usual.

A Hurdle To Clear

You cannot have massive, rapid social and economic change without some political tension. Every successful economy in East and Southeast Asia, consequently, has a major political hurdle to overcome in the next ten to fifteen years. The confrontation in May

between the armed forces and largely middle class demonstrators was a signal which should not be ignored.

In that sense, Thailand has been fortunate, despite the tragic loss of life in May, that it has an opportunity to clear its hurdle early - when the task is comparatively easy.

The stage has been set by the two Anand governments. Their reforms have significantly dismantled the remaining structure of state monopolies and state enterprises, long political prizes in the tussle between civilian and military regimes. As one sage Thai observes, the freer the economy, the freer the political system can be.

Thailand's success, of course, may not at first be easily discernible. Thai politics tend to seem messy to outsiders, according to Bankers Trust's Asian expert William H. Overholt - messy because they are competitive and diverse. Yet they are also efficient.

The Base Of Stability

Thailand is inherently politically stable. More than a decade ago the then U.S. Ambassador, Morton Abramowitz, called it the most stable country in Southeast Asia - and that logic remains true today.

The King, the monarchy, the bureaucracy, these are the country's traditional anchors. Politicians and generals might come and go, coalitions form and reform, but the fundamental stability of the political system has remained and with it policy continuity.

In the 1980s the emergence of a broad-based private sector added another element of stability. Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda, a military man by background, did not understand business and opened a dialogue with the private sector. Fulfilling the dream of a Thailand, Inc., this

"We have not yet really begun to enjoy the benefits of the Anand I reforms,"

dialogue grew. The government proved so responsive that by the end of Prem's tenure, business leaders say, they no longer had any specific complaints.

The dialogue continues. It has been institutionalized and extended to the provincial level. Beyond that, however, businessmen are more inclined than ever to take the next step and enter the political arena.

The end of complacency is just as important in the economy. Thailand will graduate to be a NIE in the '90s. But NIE status now is a moving target, defined differently in each market. Thailand's experience will be different from Korea or Taiwan, Hong Kong or Singapore. It must move much faster to identify niches of comparative advantage as southern China - and later is ASEAN neighbors Malaysia and Indonesia - follow the same track.

The work of the two Anand governments, however, gives Thailand an enormous advantage. Economically, the country has cleared the desks far more effectively than many realize.

"We have not yet really begun to enjoy the benefits of the Anand I reforms," remarks Siam Cement Vice President Pramont Sutivong: "the cost of doing business in Thailand is going to be much less. Setting up a factory is now very easy."

This special supplement has been made possible by the generous co-operation of the following concerns:

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In 'Mother Tongue,' Language to Bash By

By Sheridan Morley
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — Alan Franks's "The Mother Tongue" (at the Greenwich) is that comparative rarity for the 1990s, a domestic drama about middle-class life in South London. Its central figures are a mother and daughter, brilliantly played by Prunella Scales and Gwen Taylor, locked together by dark parental secrets but separated by the barriers of their own vocabulary.

Franks is a journalist by trade, and his starting-point here is the tongue as a lethal weapon, as well as an indicator of class, background and desires.

Each of his seven characters (mother, daughter, grandson, two feminist support-

THE LONDON STAGE

group attendants, an insurance assessor and mother's gentleman caller) is locked into their own vocabulary, and each uses it to assault the others. The issues they raise, from mother's Kensingtonian distaste for her daughter's one-parent Clapham life through to the support-groupies' casual determination to destroy such fragile peace as has been created around the kitchen sink, are familiar enough; but Franks's conclusions are more intriguing, focused as they are on the notions of language as a blunt instrument with which we slowly clobber our relatives to living death.

At times in the second half, perhaps aware that he is writing a debate rather than a drama, "The Mother Tongue" hitches into revelatory melodrama about an unnamed house or a late father's alcoholic and sexual proclivities.

At those moments, we are suddenly aware of seven caricatures in search of an author; but for most of its length "The Mother Tongue" confronts the old English familial hypocrisies with commendable raw energy and a suitable sense of language. Prunella Scales as the poisonous matriarch and Gwen Taylor as her radicalized daughter are well matched as the twin poles of a well dysfunctional family on heat.

Time has not been altogether kind to Alan Ayckbourn's "Absent Friends," newly revived by Peter James on the rather too large main stage of the Lyric Hammersmith.

Positively uneventful when compared with "The Mother Tongue," it dates from 1974 and has a heart one single, simple black joke. A gathering of friends has been arranged over tea to console the one of their number, who has just lost his fiancée in an accident at sea. But the bereaved Colin, blissfully locked into his happy snaps and his memories of the deceased, is the only member of the group to be truly happy.



Robert McBain and Prunella Scales in "The Mother Tongue."

All the others, whose partners have been tactless enough to stay alive, are deep into marital and alcoholic discord while Colin's fervent joy only serves to highlight their misery as the evening wears on. Extraneous affairs are revealed, professional lives crash, but there still is Colin, showing his snapshots and preserving the only kind of perfect relationship available, one which we are led to believe would also have proved a disaster had the fiancée not drowned at precisely the right moment in their friendship.

It is a thin basis on which to construct an entire play, and Peter James's cast is not helped by having to bash it out across the vast open spaces of the Lyric stage. Gary Bond as the manic Colin, and Suzy Blake as the increasingly desperate and distraught hostess, do what they can to keep it all alive. On the National's open Olivier stage, Robert LePage's "A Midsummer Night's Dream" is

the first in 20 years to challenge the manic directorial intensity of Peter Brook's tightrope version, this time with mixed results.

LePage has condemned his cast to a mud-bath that occupies virtually his whole acting arena.

SOME have trouble with the plot, some with the poetry and some with the English language itself. This is not the place to start if you have never before seen the "Dream." If you have, and are as bored of its conventional productions as LePage would appear to be, then there are certain virtues here, not least a breathtaking moment toward the end when the back, black walls of the set are raised to show us at last where we really are: on the banks of the Ganges.

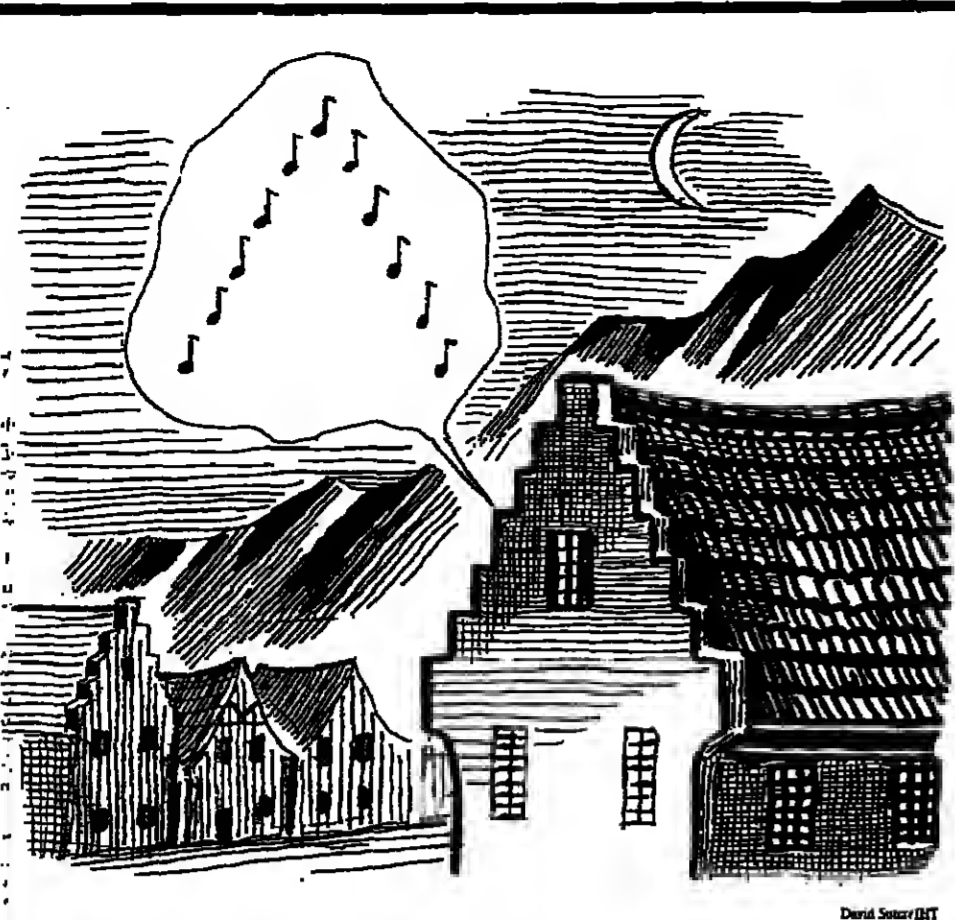
There is also an immensely acrobatic Puck from Angela Laurier, who manages to get her apparently triple-jointed ankles up around

Bottom's head to form the ears of his mask, but by and large the more conventional the players (Rupert Graves as Lysander, Rudi Davies as Helena) the more lost they are in LePage's weird and wondrous performance-art gimmickry.

An iron bedstead is dragged through the mud to form the acting area, upon which Timothy Spall as Bottom leads the rude mechanicals through an evening that seems to have more and more to do with LePage's less and less to do with Shakespeare.

This is the "Dream" turned nightmare, except that just when you have decided on LePage's dark purpose he conjures up an image of stunning beauty, such as the Ganges, and you are left to consider yet again the true purpose of an exotic director's benefit night.

Shakespeare two, LePage five is about the final score.



Singers' How-To Guide To Opera Without Angst
Sopranos Pass On Tips on Working in Germany

By John Rockwell
New York Times Service

BERLIN — Even though the United States has developed a lively regional opera scene in recent decades, Europe is still full of American opera singers busily building their careers. The best pass their apprenticeships abroad and then move on to recordings and international stardom.

They are at the glittering summit of the operatic world. But they all began their ascent at humbler base camps near the bottom, along with hundreds of other hopefuls who never made it past the true line, so to speak.

Some of those who fail to attain international success still manage honorable mid-level careers in mid-sized ensembles and cities. Others fade back into private life.

Dorothy Maddison, a coloratura soprano, and Gail Sullivan, a dramatic soprano, are still at the aspiring stage. Indeed, to hear their tales of odd jobs to pay for the rent and for more singing lessons, the very fact of getting a job in opera, any job, represents success in itself.

Sullivan says she is 28 years old. Maddison, who has been married for 12 years to a London-based English doctor, says she is in her 30s. She also remarks, with the bubbling good humor characteristic of both singers, that "the best 10 years of a woman's life are between 29 and 30."

What makes them noteworthy beyond the cities in Eastern Germany in which they sang last season is that they have collaborated on a how-to book about getting just the kind of jobs they got.

It's called "Kein Angst, Baby" (No Sweat, Baby), a phrase Sullivan heard on a dubbed German version of the American television series "Magnum, P.I." and made her battle cry during her German audition tour in the fall of 1990.

THE BOOK is chatty written, cheerful if no literary masterpiece. But it is full of solid, practical advice specifically directed at entry-level English-speaking singers who want to see if they can get engagements at German opera companies, particularly companies in the eastern parts of the country, where Westerners are still something of a novelty.

There are anecdotes and addresses and practical insights and homey tips, from how to dress for an audition, to what kind of arias to prepare, to handling a nervous accompanist. All of which has won the book friendly reviews in opera magazines.

"We know. We've been there. We did it. We got jobs!" the singers trumpet on the back of the book.

The only formally published edition of the book is the English version, available for \$9.95 from Rhinograd Publishing Ltd., 241 Shaftesbury Ave., London WC2H 8EH. The American version can be obtained only as a mail order by sending a check for \$15 made out to "Kein Angst, Baby," P. O. Box 675, Burtonsville, Maryland 20806. The person who sends out the book will be Sullivan's cousin.

Sullivan comes from Iowa and Maddison from Minnesota. Both spent a lot of time in other jobs, trying to develop their techniques and the confidence to plunge into central European operatic waters. They met in Bayreuth, Germany, the home of the Wagner Festival, at a workshop intended to prepare singers for the audition tour, the principal time for such auditions being October through Christmas.

"The workshop wasn't much help, and we realized people needed a book like ours," Maddison said, during an interview when both singers were passing through Berlin.

Both women did get jobs for the 1991-92 season as a result of their late-1990 tour. The book ends with three glowing "East Germany audition stories," two by the authors, suggesting golden opportunities in that part of the world.

As it happened, the two singers had rather different experiences during their introductory seasons. Maddison was hired by the company in Döbeln, a small town southeast of Leipzig, where the theater seats only 295 people. She appeared in leading parts in Offenbach's "Contes d'Hoffmann," Mozart's "Nozze di Figaro," Donizetti's "Lucia di Lammermoor" and Offenbach's "Orphée aux Enfers," and did the Queen of the Night in Mozart's "Zauberflöte" in a nearby city as a guest artist.

"I was greeted in Döbeln with open arms," she said. "The entire administration helped me carry my baggage up the stairs. I was the manager's little favorite. In 'Orphée,' I got to do splits and the can-can, topless." She has since reported that she has not yet managed the splits and decided to wear a corset. "At 29 you begin to become aware of gravity," she wrote in a letter.

HE has also worked hard at community relations, visiting schools to impart insights about America and Western ways.

"The people in Döbeln have been wonderful," she said. "I have so many friends there."

Sullivan did get to sing Senta in Wagner's "Fliegende Holländer" and Mimi in Puccini's "La Bohème," in the rather larger city of Erfurt, which is the capital of the newly formed state of Thuringia. But otherwise, her road was altogether rougher than Maddison's.

"I had a really bad year in Erfurt," she said. "I woke up one night and found a neo-Nazi in my bedroom. Then I was thrown out on the street with my sofa. They told me they'd find me an apartment, but since February, I've lived in six different places. I spent months with no hot water and no bathroom, and there wasn't a shower at the theater, either."

"They treat you like that and then they expect you to come back for more. I turned down my contract for next season — nobody can live like that. The best thing about the place was the man I met."

The man was Hans Rotman, a Dutchman who is the principal conductor at Erfurt and now Sullivan's fiancé. She returned with him to Amsterdam, and has no plans to go back. "Not in this lifetime, bubba," she said. Rotman has suggested that a sequel to "Kein Angst, Baby," might be called "Angst, Baby."

Some of Sullivan's problems may reflect lingering anti-foreign hostility in the former East Germany. Maddison, too, heard broken bottles smashed on the sidewalk outside her window and passing cries of "Sieg, Heil!"

But she quickly added that "most people in Döbeln were shocked by that," and Sullivan, too, upon reflection, isn't really sure whether the person she discovered in her bedroom was actually a neo-Nazi "or just some thug."

Although Maddison will be back in Döbeln this season on a guest contract, both singers plan to resume auditioning in the fall, this time concentrating on Western Germany and this time with agents to assist them.

"The audition trail doesn't end after you get your first job," Maddison warned.

A Cool Breeze Wafts in Paris
Some Light Stage Fare, Alfresco, for the Dog Days

By Thomas Quinn Curtiss
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — With the arrival of high summer, the Parisian stages unload the heavy "think" plays and trot out material more appropriate for the dog days.

An alfresco pastime for a warm evening is Jean Henri Blum's "Coup de Chance" (Stroke of Luck) at the Hôtel de Sully that draws on the Bible, Greek mythology, Persian legends, Berber mysticism and the fairy tales of Shakespeare, Perrault and Grimm for a round-the-world voyage spiced with humor.

The Shakespeare Garden theater in the Bois de Boulogne offers matinees of Eugene Labiche's frisky farce "29 Degrees a l'Ombrage" (29 Degrees in the Shade) on Saturdays and Sundays at 3 P.M. during August.

More than 30 indoor playhouses are available, most of them bubbling with Gallic esprit. At the Comédie de Paris, "Voltaire's Follies" continues to rock the house with its sketches of the philosopher's mockery of blind ignorance and imbecile superstitions that cause misery.

Jean-Noël Fenwick's "Les Palmes de M. Schmitt," a pleasing piece about the initial scientific search of Pierre and Marie Curie, is back at the Théâtre des Mathurins. Georges Feydeau's evergreen playwright whose broad comedies of the early century never fail, is represented with his "Puce à l'Oratoire" ("A Flea in Her Ear") at the

Michodière and his one-act, "Fou la Mère de Madame" is at the Lucernaire.

Though Vicma and Frankfort have permanent English theaters, Paris has been unable to establish such an institution despite many attempts to do so. But recently, a London-based company, known as the European Players Theater Company, visited the Théâtre Marie Stuart after success in Rome in the Teatro dell'Orologio with "In Transit," a program of four one-act plays that caught public favor and filled the house.

The competent quartet consists

Opulent revues add glitter and glamour to the end of the season.

of Adele Salem, Cuzia Hardy, Ben Martin and David Emerood. The two plays of the first evening were Barrie's "Twelve Pound Look" about a wife who liberated herself from her egomaniacal husband, and Shaw's "Overruled," an amusing comedy on twitting the absurdity of English middle-class morality.

The second evening program was Hugh Leonard's adaptation of Edith Wharton's short story, "Roman Fever," in which two ladies of a certain age meet on a Roman terrace and discuss their pasts, followed by John Mortimer's "The

Fear of Heaven" in which two Englishmen find themselves in adjacent beds in a palazzo now converted into a hospital are overwhelmed by the beauty of painted art on the ceiling. The European Players Theater Company has found the key to having more plays in English in Paris.

THE opulent Parisian revues with their costuming, decor and scenic wonders surpass their rivals elsewhere. Nothing can be compared to their glitter and glamour since Ziegfeld's days.

Restaurants invaded the cabarets and the dinner-theater policy has become de rigueur. Even the famed music hall, the Folies-Bergère, has added a sumptuous feast in its promenade immortalized in a Renoir painting. Dinner begins at 7:30 as an overture to the show that starts at 9:30 to display Michel Gysmarthy's tableaux in a brilliant production. The price for dinner, a half-bottle of Champagne and the show is 650 francs (\$130) per person.

The Lido's extravaganza, "Bravissimo," by René Fraday and Bob Turk, is another sample of inventive staging and production as it unfolds at lightning speed. At the Moulin-Rouge, once the haunt of Toulouse-Lautrec, there is yet another carnival of the genre, "Formidable," crowded with singers, dancers, stunts and clowns. Its feverish action dashes from wild cancan ensembles to an aquarium interlude in which giant crocodiles go swimming with members of the cast.

Back to 'Young Werther?'
The Story of the Story

By Bernard Holland
New York Times Service

SANTA FE, New Mexico — When "The Sorrows of Young Werther" was published in 1774, it triggered in European sensibilities a near mania for its young author and the people he wrote about. Readers were fascinated not only by a story of love and suicide, but also by the story of the story.

For Werther, the thwarted lover, was Johann Wolfgang von Goethe himself. Lotte and Albert were his flesh-and-blood summer friends. Only the suicide was borrowed, although from neighboring if unrelated events.

Hans-Jürgen von Bose, a 38-year-old German composer, has written an opera that is less re-enactment of Goethe's story than commentary on the book itself. Played at the Santa Fe Opera, von Bose's brief piece tears episodes from Goethe's smooth narrative (mostly in the form of Werther's letters to his brother) and presents them as abrupt, dreamlike fragments.

The facts of Goethe's original have been reassembled to create something quite distant from it. The tenderness of grief, the sweet self-indulgence of despairing love have been bled away.

Goethe are the contradictions that are the engines of "Werther": a man meticulously constructing his own catastrophe; a passionate soul who is both close to Lotte and her intended, Albert, and yet separated from both by his passion; a man who is loved, and yet not loved in the way he wishes.

The sorrows of this story's title lie in togetherness and loneliness made to stand side by side.

Opera has a hard time dealing with such ambiguities. It is a medium more comfortable with general principles that operate either in conflict or in passionate embrace.

In von Bose's opera, the capacity for joy, which is as much a part of Werther as his darker imperatives, finds no place. Splendidly sung by Kurt Ollmann, the operatic Werther becomes unfeeling anger and brooding. His jealousy is unequivocal, whereas Goethe had mingled it with love and esteem.

The original Albert is only reluctantly Werther's enemy; here he seems an altogether harsher man. Lotte is the least realized of von Bose's re-creations, almost an empty receptacle for the passions of others, not the powerful personality we remember from reading.

Yet von Bose has created an opera worth taking on its own terms. He understands that Goethe's book is more than just itself; it addresses an age gone mad with Romantic thoughts, and also with the idea of death and love at their intersection.

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30 Con's opposite
31 Impulse
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43 Foot part

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46 Tuck's partner
48 Shade tree
50 Put more powder into a musket
52 Norman town
54 Ball, or N.Y.C.
57 Flatterer or sycophant
60 Sicilian resort
63 Dash
63 Naturalist Edwin Way
64 One of Alcott's "Little Women"
65 Astronaut Sally
66 Everglades bird
67 Decorative knob
68 Prophet
69 Lassos

7 Industrialist
8 Cupid
9 Small Chinese boat
10 Water plants
11 Media vernal
12 Mrs. Cantor
13 Dull, as a light
21 Hatt!, at sea
22 Choose
28 Cornered
27 Kinde
28 Religious denomination
29 Oh! gp.
31 Word with crust or hand
32 Peg
33 Wottington's creator
34 Rue relatives
35 Stumble
38 Yet, to Yeats
38 Saroyan hero
40 Medieval goblet
41 Prepare peas.
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48 Emulate 47
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2 Soap plant
3 French film director
4 Thine, in Arlea
5 Nobelist Isaac Bashevis
6 Blackboard

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MARKET DIARY

Stocks Edge Lower In Volatile Trading

NEW YORK — U.S. stocks edged lower Tuesday after a volatile session marked by renewed concern about the economy and earnings. The Dow Jones industrial average fell 6.48 points, to 3,311.01. Decliners outnumbered advancers by a 4-3 margin on the New York Stock Exchange. Trading was light, with about 175 million shares changing hands on the Big Board up from 142 million on Monday. "There is a lot of malaise out there," said Dale Tills, manager of institutional equities at Charles Schwab in San Francisco. The recent drop in commodity prices "shows the economy is really slow." Stocks initially shook off a "plunge in Tokyo, although "these foreign markets are beating up on the psychology," said Ronald Dorn, director of institutional trading at C.L. King & Associates. Still, with interest rates so low, "I can't see any place to put your money but the equity market," Mr. Dorn said.

DOLLAR: Central Banks Arrive

(Continued from page 1) the dollar got from the intervention was one indication that the dollar's recovery was likely to be very brief. The dollar has been weakened by the interest rate gap between the United States and Germany. U.S. interest rates are at their lowest levels in 30 years, while German rates are at their highest levels since World War II. The continued weakness of the U.S. economy is increasing the possibility of more cuts in U.S. interest rates, further pressuring the dollar, analysts said. That, coupled with the prospect that German rates may be raised again, is making the dollar a sell, they said. The dollar's record low against the mark is 1.430 DM, set on Feb. 11, 1991.

SHENZHEN: Violence Closes Day Lower After Riotous Early Activity

(Continued from first finance page) stocks are popularly considered to carry virtually no risk. "A few people took advantage of the imbalance in the supply and demand for some share lottery tickets and a few faults in the organization work to stir up the emotions of a portion of the crowd," Reuters quoted the Beijing Evening News as reporting Tuesday in the first mention of the riots in the capital's press. Agence France-Presse reported that scuffles broke out at a branch of the Bank of China on Tuesday and that 300 police marched through the area in a show of force. Analysts in Hong Kong went at a loss to predict how the events might affect the future pace of China's market-reform program, which has developed from a village into a boom town — as a model for the rest of the country. But Mr. Deng reportedly faces opposition from those who believe too rapid a pace of change is destabilizing. In recent weeks, China's leaders have been sequestered at a seaside resort where they are reportedly deciding the five-year political and economic program. "This is exactly the sort of thing the conservatives in Beijing would want to use against the Dengist reform movement," said a veteran observer.

WORLD STOCK MARKETS

Table of world stock markets including Amsterdam, Brussels, Frankfurt, London, Madrid, Milan, Singapore, Stockholm, Toronto, Zurich, and others. Columns include stock names, prices, and changes.

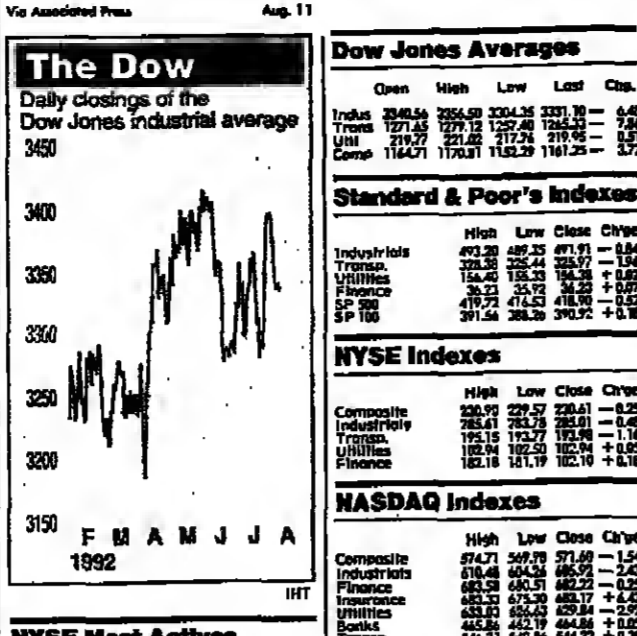


Table titled 'NYSE Most Actives' listing top trading volumes for various stocks like US Steel, Ford, and General Motors.

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EUROPEAN FUTURES

Table of European futures prices for various commodities like wheat, corn, and soybeans.

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U.S. / AT THE CLOSE

KKR Signs TW Stake Deal

SPARTANBURG, South Carolina (Bloomberg) — TW Holdings Inc., the operator of more than 2,000 Denny's, Hardee's, Quincey's and El Pollo Loco restaurants, said it signed a definitive agreement to sell at least a 47.2 percent interest in a company controlled by Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co. for \$300 million. TW's stock rose 25 cents, to \$3.25. The expected agreement capped six weeks of negotiations between KKR, the New York-based leveraged-buyout firm, and TW Holdings. The pending transaction is part of a primary buyout firm, and TW Holdings. The deal was outlined in June, it was to have received warrants for only 59 million shares.

Steinbrenner Back at American Ship

TAMPA, Florida (AP) — George Steinbrenner, owner of the New York Yankees professional baseball team, has returned as chairman of American Ship Building Co., 14 months after his retirement. He succeeds Paul D. Butcher, who died Aug. 3 of a heart attack. Mr. Steinbrenner, the company's biggest shareholder and chairman of its executive committee, said he agreed to the board's request that he become acting chairman. "It's just for the time being until we get our feet on the ground," Mr. Steinbrenner said. American Ship, struggling to return to profitability, is focusing on increased work for the U.S. Navy. When Mr. Steinbrenner left the company, he said he wanted to spend more time with his family.

Labor-Cost Rise Is Lowest Since 1975

WASHINGTON (AP) — U.S. labor costs, held back by the weak economy, posted their smallest gains in 17 years during the first half of 1992, the government said Tuesday. The Labor Department also said that nonfarm productivity advanced at an annual rate of 2.3 percent in the second quarter, following a 3.8 percent rise in the January-March quarter. Unit labor costs rose 0.3 percent, following a 0.1 percent advance in the first quarter. The back-to-back quarterly advances were the smallest since the spring and summer of 1975. Since labor accounts for about two-thirds of the cost of a product, analysts said the data indicated that inflation was remaining well under control.

Digital Sells Facility to AMP-AKZO

MAYNARD, Massachusetts (Combined Dispatches) — Digital Equipment Corp. said Tuesday it had signed an agreement to sell its printed wiring board plant in Greenville, South Carolina, to AMP-AKZO Inc. A spokesman for Digital said AMP-AKZO would offer jobs to the 475 workers, and would continue to supply Digital with boards and related products. Terms of the cash deal were not disclosed. AMP-AKZO is joint venture of AMP Inc. and Akzo NV. (Bloomberg, Reuters)

Southland Posts \$17.9 Million Loss

DALLAS (UPI) — Southland Corp., operator of 7-Eleven stores, reported on Tuesday a second-quarter loss of \$17.9 million, and announced that 1,800 nonstore jobs would be cut in the third quarter as part of its continuing reorganization. The results included \$17.5 million for the job cuts and other reorganization costs. Sales for the quarter were down 6.8 percent to \$1.98 billion. The drop was attributed to the closing of about 250 stores, lower same-store sales and lower outside sales at Southland's five distribution and food centers. In the second quarter of last year, Southland had a profit of \$19.6 million on sales of \$2.12 billion. Last year's profit included an extraordinary gain of \$13 million from restructuring of \$1.8 billion of debt.

U.S. FUTURES

Table of U.S. futures prices for various commodities like wheat, corn, and soybeans.

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U.S. / AT THE CLOSE

Large table of U.S. market data including stock indices, bond yields, and commodity prices.

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Communist 'Days of Stagnation' Don't Look So Bad to Russia's New Kulaks

By Michael Dobbs
Washington Post Service

YAROSLAVL, Russia — Almost a year after the collapse of communism, the mood in the Russian heartland is decidedly bleak.

"Life was better during the so-called days of stagnation," said Valentin Novikov, who belongs to the emerging class of private farmers that has supposedly benefited from free-market reforms. "If I had the possibility, I would gladly return to those days. You could buy chocolate then. Now you work from morning to night and end up under a mountain of debt."

The label "democrat" has become a worse term of abuse than "Communist," said Yevgeny Kovalyev, a journalist who helped organize some of the first protests against Communist Party rule in this Volga River city of 600,000 people. "They said that prices would go up three times. Instead, they have gone up 40 times. People's patience is at a breaking point."

The people of Yaroslavl are producing and consuming significantly less than a year ago. Prices have gone up 10, 50, even 100 times. Unemployment is appearing. Most people are convinced that life is likely to get a good deal worse before it gets better.

"If someone could tell me what these economic reforms are supposed to mean, then I could tell you what I think about them," said Vladimir Yermakov, the chief engineer of a meat-processing plant, sitting under a portrait

of Lenin. "They keep on repeating the same phrases: reform, market economy, free prices. They say the reds and the fascists are preventing reform. It seems the reforms began and now they are collapsing, without most of us being any the wiser."

Viewed from below, the experiment appears to be losing momentum. That in turn raises the question of whether the present trials facing Russia's rulers are merely bumps on the road to a free market revolution or evidence of an imminent change of direction.

With its wretchedly inefficient collective farms and state-owned industrial dinosaurs producing goods that nobody wants, the Yaroslavl region provides a useful barometer of the problems of the Russian heartland beyond the westernized cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg.

Yaroslavl's induction into the mysteries of free market economics began with a bang on Jan. 1, when the government lifted price controls on most industrial and agricultural goods.

It soon became apparent that the magic hand of the market operates somewhat differently in an economy controlled by a handful of monopoly producers who have previously taken their orders from the state.

"Our society has not matured to the point where we can have a free market," said Mr. Yermakov, whose plant processes 90 percent of the meat produced in the Yaroslavl region.

"The mayor still tells us how we are meant to distribute our meat. We are still bound by all kinds of directives on the prices we are allowed to charge."

In accordance with instructions, Mr. Yermakov raised the price of his meat by 400 percent on Jan. 1. The effect was dramatic and predictable. Demand slumped. Plentiful supplies of meat suddenly reappeared in Yaroslavl stores for the first time in many months, but at a price few could afford. The stores stopped ordering meat. For the first three months of this year, the freezers of the Yaroslavl meat plant were filled with unsold meat.

The government responded to the discontent by easing credit restrictions.

But the determination of the economic reformers gradually weakened. Subsidies of food production, which had been abolished with much fanfare in January and February, reappeared in different guises. In some cases, they are approaching previous levels. The state now pays around 60 percent of the purchase price of lamb and 40 percent of milk.

"Experience shows that we cannot survive without subsidies," said Vladimir Bardakov, chief engineer of the Yaroslavl milk factory, just down the road from the meat-processing plant. "If you don't subsidize the prices of dairy products, nobody will be able to buy them. Back in April, we were swamped with butter that we could not sell."

When Mr. Novikov led a mass walkout from the Harmonious Shoots collective farm in the spring of 1991, he was full of optimism. He was convinced that the future lay with private farming.

Fifteen months later, he is not so sure. "We have reached a dead end," said Mr. Novikov, 34, one of the first private farmers in the Yaroslavl region. "We cannot buy the machinery we need. We are completely dependent on the collective farm for marketing our produce. We cannot repay our loans. If things go on like this, at least half the private farms around here will go bankrupt."

Hard-working and energetic, Mr. Novikov seems a natural representative of the class of enterprising peasants or kulaks that the Communists destroyed in the late 1920s and early 1930s. But his attempts to resurrect the almost lost tradition of private farming are floundering in the face of formidable obstacles: drink, apathy and the legacy of seven decades of economic mismanagement.

In order to survive, let alone prosper, Mr. Novikov needs to co-operate with a dozen other former members of the Harmonious Shoots collective farm. By leaving the kolhoz as a group, the defectors were able to lay claim to a share of the land and equipment. One farmer was given a tractor, another a combine, a third a truck and so on. Since the cost of new

machinery was prohibitive, they decided to pool their resources.

The flaws in this arrangement became apparent earlier this month, when a half-dozen members of the group went on a three-day drinking binge to mark Elijah's Day, one of many religious holidays in rural Russia. When Mr. Novikov reproached them, he received the retort: "O.K., let's divide everything up. We'll start with the combine harvester."

Liberal infusions of alcohol may help the former kolhozniks forget about their other problems. It took them 10 months to get legally registered as private farmers. Their land is 5 miles (8 kilometers) from the village, along a dirt road that is frequently impassable. When their machinery breaks down, they have to make their own spare parts.

"If they don't build a road to our land, it will be the end of us," said Alexander Khrustaliov, a member of the group who acknowledged that he had taken "a few drops" in honor of Elijah. "We were the strongest workers in the kolhoz, but even we are collapsing. Now no one else is willing to take the risk of leaving the collective to start their own private farm."

In fact, Mr. Novikov and his friends enjoy several advantages over more recent defectors from the Harmonious Shoots collective farm. Perhaps the most important is that the kolhoz no longer allows its members to take equipment with them when they leave, making it next to

impossible for departing members to set up viable private farms.

According to recently released government statistics, 80 percent of the private farms in Russia are without running water. More than half have no electricity. There is a tractor for every two farms, a plow for every five farms and a grain harvester for every 12 farms. The average farm supports three cows, three pigs, six sheep and six goats.

Over the past year, purchase prices for agricultural produce such as milk and grain have risen roughly 10 times. But the farmers complain that the prices of building materials and other industrial goods have gone up 50 to 100 times.

Virtually all farms in the Yaroslavl region — whether private or state-run — are deep in debt. Many collective farms are borrowing money from the bank just to pay salaries. The difference is that nobody expects the collectives to pay back debts, whereas a real threat of bankruptcy hangs over the private farmers.

With 250 acres (about 100 hectares) of agricultural land and 62 head of cattle, Mr. Novikov is better placed than most of his colleagues. But even he is finding it very difficult to make ends meet.

"Last year I took out a loan of 120,000 rubles, and I managed to pay it back in time," he said. "This year I took a loan of 1.2 million rubles, and I am finding it practically impossible to pay back. If I can't survive, who can?"

Reformers in Old Volga City See Future in Past

By Serge Schmemmann
New York Times Service

NIZHNI NOVGOROD, Russia — For seven decades this ancient trading city, renamed Gorky by the Bolsheviks, led the Soviet Union in making weapons of death and destruction.

A new breed of leaders hopes that the city, once again bearing the name Nizhni Novgorod, can lead Russia into a new phase of economic reform.

From offices in the medieval citadel, a brash young governor, a mayor who used to fight white-collar crime and a crusading economist — backed by some imported Western talent — are charting an ambitious and independent economic path that they believe could eventually provide a model for the stalled reforms of Moscow, 400 kilometers (250 miles) to the west.

The challenge is daunting. For the last seven decades, the city and the surrounding province were a secretive bastion of the Soviet high-tech military industry. Before that, for seven centuries, Nizhni Novgorod was a thriving center of Russian commerce, home to trade fairs and opulent mansions.

It is this heritage that Governor Boris Y. Nemtsov, 32, a physicist who came to politics by fighting the construction of a nuclear power plant, believes he can revive in this city and the surrounding province.

In April, the city pioneered a weekly auction of shops with help from the International Finance Corp., an arm of the World Bank.

Now Grigori A. Yavinsky, the economist whose "500-day" reform program for the country was rejected by Mikhail S. Gorbachev two years ago, is preparing an economic master plan for the city that he believes to be

more comprehensive than anything yet tried in the lands of the former Soviet state.

In the near future, the plan calls for extensive privatization of housing, trucking, hotels, shipping and services. Beyond that, Mr. Yavinsky hopes to draw up a detailed program for regional development and conversion.

The province is even planning to issue its own "currency" — actually negotiable chips to be issued against money owed by the central bank in Moscow. Already nicknamed "Nemtsov" after the governor, the chips will be redeemable against rubles once the shortage of paper money is relieved.

Nobody here underestimates the challenge. With 75 percent of the city's 600 or so enterprises involved in things like building MiG military jets and submarines or designing atomic bombs, the city and its surrounding territory have hundreds of factories facing bankruptcy and a surplus of outstanding scientists facing unemployment.

Whatever the outcome, the decision by one region of Russia to move beyond Moscow already has major implications for the future of Russia's ponderous effort to transform its economic, political and social system.

"This is not simply helping rebuild a few industries," said Mr. Yavinsky, who has been in the city since May preparing the economic blueprint. "This is the creation of a model of radical economic reform in conditions of destroyed statehood and the helplessness of central authority."

Mr. Yavinsky has been increasingly critical of the policies of Yegor T. Gaidar, President Boris N. Yeltsin's acting prime minister and chief economist.

So far, at least, the central government has

blessed Nizhni Novgorod's plunge into reform. Mr. Gaidar attended the opening of the shop auctions in April and declared, "Nizhni Novgorod is the leader of privatization, and we can see the steps taken here as exemplary, a model that can be applied all over Russia."

The proposed role for Nizhni Novgorod as a crucible of economic revolution might seem curious for a city that a year ago, still called Gorky, was off-limits to foreigners. It was in the nearby secret research city of Arzamas-16 that Andrei D. Sakharov worked on the Soviet atomic bomb, and it was to Gorky that the dissident was exiled for seven years.

But that special status has also been one reason for Western interest in helping this city. Washington has shown a special concern in preventing a potential export of Nizhni Novgorod's scientists to the Middle East and elsewhere.

Accordingly, the International Finance Corp. was instrumental in designing the store auctions and is working on a plan for privatizing trucking. The International Executive Service Corps has sent retired American managers to help with military conversion.

The University City Science Center, a Philadelphia-based consortium of 28 universities and research centers, is preparing a data base of research activities in Nizhni Novgorod for potential contracts and patents.

Everyone agrees that the energy for change emanates from Mr. Nemtsov.

The governor is different. Even his title is an innovation instead of the official "head of administration." In a world of middle-aged, stodgy former Communists, he is 32, hand-

some, Jewish, witty, brash in dress and casual in style.

On a recent weekday, his waiting room in the old Communist Party headquarters in the medieval citadel, called the Kremlin, is filled with petitioners. Two dozen telephone operators have come to complain that they, like most other state employees here, have not been paid since April. One woman hints that they will stop service.

Mr. Nemtsov responds that Moscow owes Nizhni Novgorod more than 4 billion rubles in unpaid salaries, that he just brought back 1 billion, and that the rest will be made up as soon as the coupons are ready.

Back in his office he consults by phone with Yevgeny Krestvaninov, the chairman of the regional parliament and an ally. "If they cut the phones, fire them all," Mr. Krestvaninov fumes. "If you react to one such threat, you'll be besieged."

Like most local officials, Mr. Nemtsov has little patience for Mr. Gaidar's policies or for the International Monetary Fund.

"That idiotic IMF, don't they understand anything?" he wonders aloud. "They want to transform a country that can't work into America. If we released prices on oil, as they want, we'd immediately become an expensive country, with world prices for everything."

Mr. Gaidar's error, he continues, was the assumption that all he had to do was check off money and raise prices, and enterprises would begin producing more and better things.

"But that would only work if there were private owners," he says. "All enterprises are still state-owned, so directors simply raised prices and cut production. That's Gaidar's reform."



FAMILY COMPASSION — In Moscow, Ron and Janet Greenfield of Chicago holding their adopted Russian boys, Anton, left, and Sergei. Mr. Greenfield is a Vietnam veteran and amputee. The brothers, both 4, are also amputees as a result of malpractice in a Russian maternity hospital.

Russian Dreams of a Baltic Hong Kong

Kronstadt, a Naval Base With a Militant Past, Sails for a Commercial Future

By Steven Erlanger
New York Times Service

KRONSTADT, Russia — Twenty-four kilometers and 23 minutes by hydrofoil from St. Petersburg, Kronstadt and its naval base can seem a world away: clean, orderly, and disciplined in the way many Russians like to think life ought to be.

There are no hawkers of cheap Turkish clothing, no prostitutes humping around hard-currency bottles, no gypsies-begging in the streets.

A naval base and fortress built by Peter the Great in 1703 as a sea defense for the larger city 15 miles away that once again bears his name, Kronstadt is an evocative name in the history of the Soviet Union.

Early converts to the Bolshevik cause, Kronstadt's sailors joined the failed 1905 revolution and fought again in the successful seizure of power in 1917. Kronstadt sailors formed one of the first-ever soviets, or councils.

But in the aftermath of the civil war, in March 1921, the sailors of Kronstadt mutinied, denouncing the growing totalitarianism of the new state and its rapid betrayal of worker democracy. Lenin, shocked, finally called the revolt "a counter-revolutionary conspiracy."

More than 50,000 troops under Marshal Mikhail N. Tukhachevsky, who would himself be purged by Stalin in 1937, crossed the ice to Kronstadt and brutally crushed the uprising. Thousands were killed in the fighting and the mopping-up by the KGB; bodies were dumped into a ravine near the island's main church.

Today, Kronstadt is home to only 55,000 people, with one-third of the residents from the navy and one-quarter naval retirees. It's a self-enclosed community where, as they say here, "there's a direct road from the maternity ward to the cemetery."

But change is coming even to Kronstadt, which had been closed to foreigners for more than 200 years. The first Finnish tour boat arrived less than a year ago, and 26 are scheduled to come this year. Now a road runs over a series of dams to the mainland, and though it is not legal yet, some buses run, and people can now go to the theater in St. Petersburg without worrying about missing the last hydrofoil.

The town's mayor, Viktor L. Surikov, who himself spent 30 years in the navy, has big plans to turn the 9.7-kilometer-by-4.8-kilometer (6-mile-by-3-mile) island "into the Hong Kong of Russia," a free-enterprise zone for foreign businesses, with five huge dry docks for ship repair. There are 19 old fortresses of various designs. Mr. Surikov wants to fix them up and turn some



They don't want to leave," he said, "even though we offer them apartments in St. Petersburg." The navy has its own problems. It is feeling the effect of military cutbacks and is trying to figure out ways to respond. Admiral Alexander N. Melnikov, commander of the naval base, says there are now about 100 ships based here, including submarines, one-third the number in the 1950s.

Admiral Melnikov, 44, efficient and articulate, has a taste for antiques, which fill his elegant office. Like many professional officers, he has less love for the new civilian leaders who, he says, are undermining the country's security through well-meaning ignorance.

"I know what needs to be done, as a professional," he said. "These people sit in front of television cameras and tell everyone what needs to be done, and they know nothing. They've worked all their lives as accountants or looked through microscopes or studied butterflies."

"I get sick to my stomach listening to them. Now people say no military forces are needed, and then conversion starts up, and it is little by little destroying our military power."

Still, he says, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party has one great benefit: the elimination of the political officers

who had to countersign every order and generally "got in the way." Now, he said, laughing, "they're being re-educated."

So are an increasing number of officers no longer needed by a leaner navy: the Kronstadt base has begun a school to teach retiring officers the ways of modern business, so they can get decent civilian jobs.

Captain Valeri Y. Toporovsky, 41, is the director of the school, which is about to graduate its first class of 43. In four months, officers take 460 hours of classroom work in topics like private property and privatization, the anatomy of a market economy, business law and psychology, worker relations, finance and credit, the needs of foreign investors and the use of computers, including how to check for viruses. They finish with two weeks of hands-on work in St. Petersburg businesses, and some have already obtained jobs. After the course, they must leave the service.

Vladimir Lemitsky, 43, had 27 years in the navy but had reached retirement age for his rank, captain second-grade. His last paycheck was 6,500 rubles, about \$45, but before June it was only 3,000 rubles.

"For me," he said simply, "this course came just in time."

He has found work with a new Kronstadt tourism agency.

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NASDAQ

Today's Prices
NASDAQ closed at 2,454.44, New York time.
This list compiled by the AP, consists of the 1,000 most traded securities in terms of dollar value. It is updated twice a year.

High	Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	52 Week High	52 Week Low
110.00	108.00	IBM	3.00	2.8%	12.5	115.00	100.00
100.00	98.00	Microsoft	0.00	0.0%	15.0	105.00	85.00
90.00	88.00	Oracle	0.00	0.0%	18.0	95.00	75.00
80.00	78.00	Novell	0.00	0.0%	20.0	85.00	65.00
70.00	68.00	Lotus	0.00	0.0%	22.0	75.00	55.00
60.00	58.00	Intel	0.00	0.0%	25.0	65.00	45.00
50.00	48.00	Sun	0.00	0.0%	30.0	55.00	35.00
40.00	38.00	HP	0.00	0.0%	35.0	45.00	25.00
30.00	28.00	Compaq	0.00	0.0%	40.0	35.00	15.00
20.00	18.00	Digital	0.00	0.0%	45.0	25.00	10.00

COMPANY RESULTS

Revenue and profits or losses, in millions, are in local currencies unless otherwise indicated.

British
British Airways
1st Qtr. 1992: Revenue 1,170, Profit 100, Per Share 0.56
1st Qtr. 1991: Revenue 1,140, Profit 100, Per Share 0.56

GKN
1st Half 1992: Revenue 1,234, Profit 100, Per Share 0.19
1st Half 1991: Revenue 1,234, Profit 100, Per Share 0.19

British/Neth.
Unilever
1st Qtr. 1992: Revenue 1,100, Profit 100, Per Share 0.56
1st Qtr. 1991: Revenue 1,100, Profit 100, Per Share 0.56

Turkey
Tepsi
1st Half 1992: Revenue 1,100, Profit 100, Per Share 0.56
1st Half 1991: Revenue 1,100, Profit 100, Per Share 0.56

United States
Electronic Data Sys.
1st Qtr. 1992: Revenue 1,100, Profit 100, Per Share 0.56
1st Qtr. 1991: Revenue 1,100, Profit 100, Per Share 0.56

Leeds
1st Qtr. 1992: Revenue 1,100, Profit 100, Per Share 0.56
1st Qtr. 1991: Revenue 1,100, Profit 100, Per Share 0.56

WestLB
1st Half 1992: Revenue 1,100, Profit 100, Per Share 0.56
1st Half 1991: Revenue 1,100, Profit 100, Per Share 0.56

Germany
Deutsche Bank
1st Half 1992: Revenue 1,100, Profit 100, Per Share 0.56
1st Half 1991: Revenue 1,100, Profit 100, Per Share 0.56

France
1st Half 1992: Revenue 1,100, Profit 100, Per Share 0.56
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Spain
1st Half 1992: Revenue 1,100, Profit 100, Per Share 0.56
1st Half 1991: Revenue 1,100, Profit 100, Per Share 0.56

Italy
1st Half 1992: Revenue 1,100, Profit 100, Per Share 0.56
1st Half 1991: Revenue 1,100, Profit 100, Per Share 0.56

AMEX

Tables include the nationwide closing prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

High	Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	52 Week High	52 Week Low
110.00	108.00	IBM	3.00	2.8%	12.5	115.00	100.00
100.00	98.00	Microsoft	0.00	0.0%	15.0	105.00	85.00
90.00	88.00	Oracle	0.00	0.0%	18.0	95.00	75.00
80.00	78.00	Novell	0.00	0.0%	20.0	85.00	65.00
70.00	68.00	Lotus	0.00	0.0%	22.0	75.00	55.00
60.00	58.00	Intel	0.00	0.0%	25.0	65.00	45.00
50.00	48.00	Sun	0.00	0.0%	30.0	55.00	35.00
40.00	38.00	HP	0.00	0.0%	35.0	45.00	25.00
30.00	28.00	Compaq	0.00	0.0%	40.0	35.00	15.00
20.00	18.00	Digital	0.00	0.0%	45.0	25.00	10.00

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60.00	58.00	Intel	0.00	0.0%	25.0	65.00	45.00
50.00	48.00	Sun	0.00	0.0%	30.0	55.00	35.00
40.00	38.00	HP	0.00	0.0%	35.0	45.00	25.00
30.00	28.00	Compaq	0.00	0.0%	40.0	35.00	15.00
20.00	18.00	Digital	0.00	0.0%	45.0	25.00	10.00

High	Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	52 Week High	52 Week Low
110.00	108.00	IBM	3.00	2.8%	12.5	115.00	100.00
100.00	98.00	Microsoft	0.00	0.0%	15.0	105.00	85.00
90.00	88.00	Oracle	0.00	0.0%	18.0	95.00	75.00
80.00	78.00	Novell	0.00	0.0%	20.0	85.00	65.00
70.00	68.00	Lotus	0.00	0.0%	22.0	75.00	55.00
60.00	58.00	Intel	0.00	0.0%	25.0	65.00	45.00
50.00	48.00	Sun	0.00	0.0%	30.0	55.00	35.00
40.00	38.00	HP	0.00	0.0%	35.0	45.00	25.00
30.00	28.00	Compaq	0.00	0.0%	40.0	35.00	15.00
20.00	18.00	Digital	0.00	0.0%	45.0	25.00	10.00

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100.00	98.00	Microsoft	0.00	0.0%	15.0	105.00	85.00
90.00	88.00	Oracle	0.00	0.0%	18.0	95.00	75.00
80.00	78.00	Novell	0.00	0.0%	20.0	85.00	65.00
70.00	68.00	Lotus	0.00	0.0%	22.0	75.00	55.00
60.00	58.00	Intel	0.00	0.0%	25.0	65.00	45.00
50.00	48.00	Sun	0.00	0.0%	30.0	55.00	35.00
40.00	38.00	HP	0.00	0.0%	35.0	45.00	25.00
30.00	28.00	Compaq	0.00	0.0%	40.0	35.00	15.00
20.00	18.00	Digital	0.00	0.0%	45.0	25.00	10.00

150-110

SPORTS BASEBALL

3 Blue Jay Homers Defeat Orioles as Showdown Begins

The Associated Press
Back at home, the Toronto Blue Jays were the ones swinging the big bats.

Joe Carter, Dave Winfield and Candy Maldonado hit two-run homers Monday night as the Blue Jays beat the Baltimore Orioles, 8-5.

AMERICAN LEAGUE

In the opener of their showdown for first place in the American League East.

The victory followed a 2-5 swing through Boston and Detroit in which Toronto pitchers had an 11.90 earned-run average.

"We just had a horrendous road trip so we had to get things right," Winfield said. "We stopped our slide. Now we can concentrate on starting a good streak."

The Blue Jays increased their lead to three games over the Orioles. Toronto has won five of seven against Baltimore this season, with three games left in this series.

The Orioles' Mike Mussina gave up a career-high eight runs on 10 hits in 6 1/2 innings. He also allowed three home runs in a game for the first time.

Carter, who got three hits and scored three times, hit his 24th homer in the first inning.

Winfield hit Toronto ahead for good at 3-2 with an RBI double in the third, then Maldonado hit his 13th homer that inning and Winfield finished Mussina with his 19th homer in the seventh.

Athletics 5, White Sox 3: In Oakland, Ron Darling and Dennis Eckersley held Chicago to five hits, and the Athletics scored five runs in the first inning to win for the eighth time in nine games.

Lance Johnson singled in the White Sox fifth, extending the longest hitting streak in the majors this season to 24 games. Ron Karkovian hit a three-run homer later in the inning.

Twins 7, Rangers 5: Kirby Puckett had three hits, including his first home since June 28, and scored three times as Minnesota returned to the Metrodome following a 1-3 road trip.

Tigers 10, Yankees 5: Cecil Fielder homered and drove in three runs in Detroit, and the slow-footed Tigers stole six bases against New York.

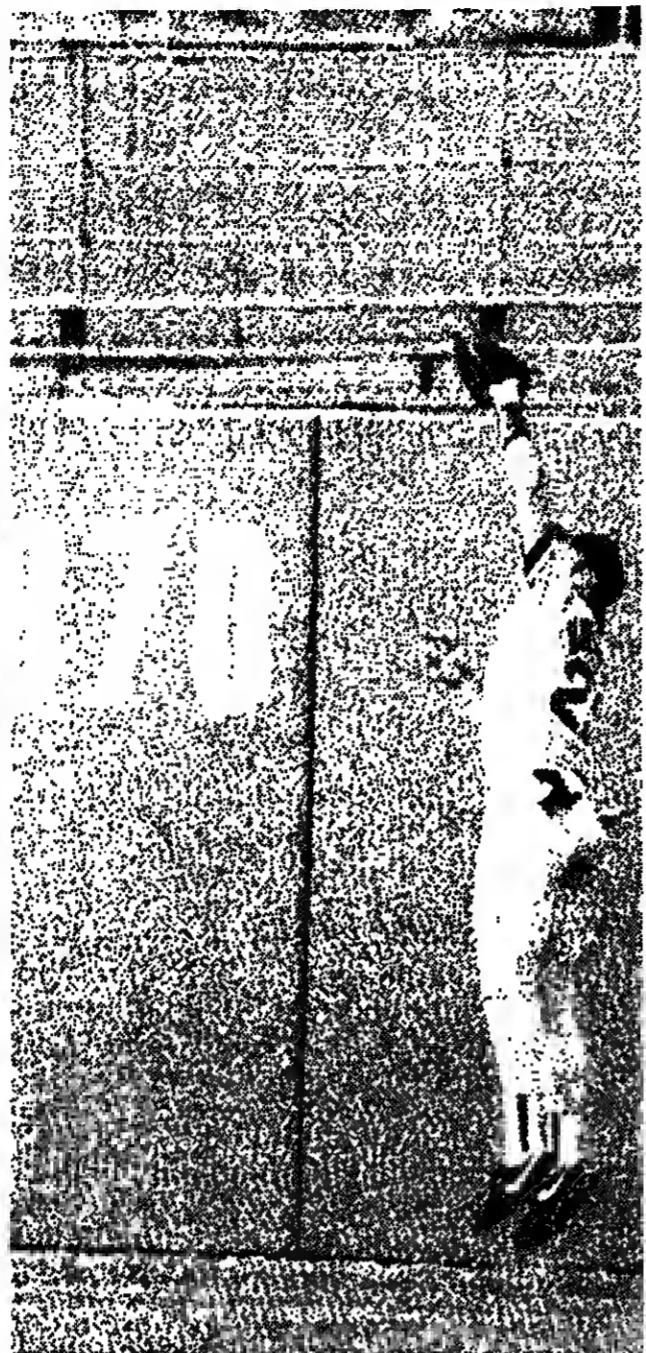
Fielder, leading the majors with 98 RBIs, hit his 26th homer as Detroit won its fourth straight.

Indians 8, Red Sox 5: Carlos Baerga's three-run homer capped a four-run eighth as Cleveland, playing at home, rallied from a five-run deficit against Boston.

Mariners 3, Royals 1: Randy Johnson pitched a three-hitter and struck out 10 for the 19th time as Seattle beat visiting Kansas City.

Luis Aquino gave up just five hits in seven innings, but two were back-to-back doubles by Dave Valle and Harold Reynolds in the first, and Edgar Martinez, the AL's leading hitter, singled in a second run.

Angels 4, Brewers 1: Luis Polonia doubled, stole two bases and scored twice as rookie Julio Valera pitched a three-hitter in Anaheim, California, to beat Milwaukee and win for only the fourth time in his last 17 starts.



Boston right fielder Tom Brunansky robbed Mark Whitten of a home run in the second, but visiting Cleveland still won, 8-5.

Pirates Squeak To No. 11

The Associated Press
The Pittsburgh Pirates' 11th straight victory wasn't easy.

Jeff King singled home the go-ahead run in the 16th inning Monday night in New York and the Pirates went on for a 4-2 victory over the Mets in a game that took 5:03 to play.

The Pirates are on their longest streak since winning 11 in a row in 1978. Their record is 16 straight, in 1992.

Andy Van Slyke led off the 16th with a single off Lee Gosterman and was sacrificed to second by Cecil Espy. Barry Bonds was then issued the ninth intentional walk of the game before King singled to center. Jose Lind and pitcher Steve Cooke added RBI singles.

The Pirates had 17 hits and left 21 runners on base in the game. King was up with runners on second and third in the 10th, but fouled off a ball that the catcher got for the third out.

"I was just trying to surprise them," King said.

Dodgers 5, Braves 3: In Atlanta, the Braves' nine-game winning streak ended when Ramon Martinez outpitched Steve Avery, who was tagged for four runs — three earned — and 11 hits in 6 1/2 innings.

Martinez held the Braves to two hits before leaving in the seventh when Atlanta closed to 4-3.

The Dodgers added an insurance run in the eighth on a two-out, RBI single by Eric Young.

Giants 4, Astros 1: The San Francisco Giants returned home for the first time since the announcement of plans for a move to Florida, and beat Houston behind three RBIs from Will Clark and a six-hitter by John Burkett.

Clark hit a two-run homer, his 12th, in the third following Robby Thompson's RBI double and added a sacrifice fly in the fifth.

Houston is now 4-10 on its 26-game road trip, caused by the Republican National Convention.

Expos 11, Cubs 6: Montreal took advantage of shoddy fielding in a six-run third to halt Chicago's home winning streak at seven.

Ill Wind Blows at Candlestick Politicians Still Trying, but Giants' Fans Have Given Up

By Michael Martinez
New York Times Service
SAN FRANCISCO — The scenes were all familiar ones for a summer afternoon at the ball park. Kids waiting around the players' parking lot for autographs. Workers preparing the field for batting practice. Technicians moving quickly but hurriedly in preparation for another television broadcast.

And the seats were all empty.

The game to Candlestick Park had not opened, but the emptiness of the stadium on Monday seemed real. A year from now, the place could look like this in April and May and June, all the way into October.

So far, the news here hasn't changed: the San Francisco Giants are still leaving for Florida, next season, although efforts are being made to somehow keep them. Mayor Frank Jordan continues pursuing investors who would match the \$110 million offer the Giants' owner, Bob Lurie, has already accepted, and Angela Alioto, a member of the San Francisco County Board of Supervisors, intends to unveil plans for a downtown stadium this week.

But hearts are still breaking.

"I really don't want them to go," said 15-year-old Gary Langa of Daly City, who said he had written a letter last week to Commissioner Fay Vincent, asking him to keep the team here. "It won't be the same without them."

"I'm sad," he added, struggling helplessly. "They won't be here anymore. I haven't felt what that's like."

The feeling is one of inevitability. Fans who walked up to the box office to buy tickets — the team's final home game, Sept. 27, is already a sellout — and players who arrived in the clubhouse all seemed resigned to the move.

"You know that you're going to miss playing in the place where you started out," said first baseman Will Clark, "but if my boss tells me to play somewhere else, I'm playing somewhere else."

But it is not that way for the Giants' fans, whose hopes seem all but gone. If there is a glimmer, it comes from politicians.

Mayor Jordan said Monday he was setting up committees to seek investors. One major candidate, H. Irving Grossbeck, has been reviewing the team's financial reports for more than a week.

The mayor, who has said he will attend the owners' meetings when the vote is held to approve the sale, called himself "an optimist but also a realist."

"He wants the other owners and Fay Vincent to recognize that San Francisco wants to keep the Giants and there's money here to do it," said Bob Forsythe, the mayor's spokesman. "That's the project in the next 25 days."

At the same time, Alioto said she is moving ahead with plans for a downtown stadium that would cost about \$110 million.

"Losing the Giants is devastating to me," she said. "I'm not an avid fan who wouldn't miss a game, but I am an avid fan of San Francisco. We can't just sit back and let them walk away."

Asked if she was giving fans a sense of false hope, Alioto said: "I don't know what false hope is. Hope is hope to me. If I thought this was a joke, I wouldn't be doing it."

Lurie drove into the stadium Monday, past the kids and the workers and the ticket buyers, but the team's owner wouldn't discuss the matter. Asked about hopes to retain the Giants, he said, "It's an emotional thing." About his own feelings, he said, "It's difficult."

Later, Lurie held a 15-minute, closed-door meeting with his players, explaining his decision to them. Fans clearly don't blame Lurie.

"If I was in his shoes, I guess I would've done the same thing," said Sergio Jacques of Sunnyvale. "But I also don't know how I could live with this knowing that I'd broken all these people's hearts."

Voters have had four chances to approve initiatives for a new stadium. All were turned down, the last one in June by nearby San Jose. When it was announced that Lurie had accepted an offer by a group in the Tampa Bay area, to play at the Suncoast Dome in St. Petersburg, it left fans here as cold as a Candlestick Park wind.

"I understand what it's like sitting out there watching a game," said pitcher Dave Righetti, raised in San Jose. "As a kid, I couldn't find anybody to take me to games."

"You freeze here," said Martha Willis of South San Francisco. "My daughter said I have let games at times because it was so cold. But this is all we know."

It is all most of the players know, too.

"I'm not going to miss the 50-degree weather and the wind blowing 30 miles an hour in the middle of June," said pitcher Trevor Wilson. "But I'm going to miss the fans who treated me real well."

AL to Meet In Week on Sale of Tigers

The Associated Press
NEW YORK — American League owners will meet next Wednesday in Chicago to discuss Thomas Monaghan's proposed sale of the Detroit Tigers to Mike Ilitch.

A league spokeswoman, Phyllis Merige, said that the owners may take a straw vote at the Aug. 19 meeting, but that a formal vote would have to wait for a joint meeting of major league owners.

The next joint meeting is scheduled for Sept. 10 in St. Louis, but owners could vote earlier by telephone conference call.

Eleven of the 14 AL owners and eight of 14 National League owners must approve the sale, which is estimated at \$85 million.

The major league's ownership committee received a report Monday on the proposed sale from the AL's lawyer, Fred Kuhlmann of the St. Louis Cardinals, chairman of the committee, declined to say whether it would approve the sale.

The 7th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago set Sept. 30 for hearing oral arguments in Commissioner Fay Vincent's attempt to lift a preliminary injunction blocking National League realignment.

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BOOKS

COMPROMISED CAMPUS: The Collaboration of Universities With the Intelligence Community, 1945-1955

By Sigmund Diamond. 371 pages. \$27.95. Oxford University Press Inc., 200 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016.

Reviewed by Herbert Mitgang

It should not come as a surprise to readers of recent books and magazine articles about the reign of J. Edgar Hoover during the Cold War that the tentacles of the Federal Bureau of Investigation extended into American universities. Thanks to the Freedom of Information Act, in recent years historians, biographers and journalists have been able to obtain government dossiers — heavily censored and often with pages withheld — on individuals and organizations ranging from U.S. Nobel laureates in literature to members of Congress and the Supreme Court.

In "Compromised Campus," Sigmund Diamond, a professor of sociology and emeritus professor of history at Columbia University, adds fuel to the bonfire of the liberties. Citing FBI files and his own observations, he reveals that for at least 30 years after World War II, Hoover's special agents enlisted administrators and professors and planted them as sub-agents in place. Diamond maintains that

COMPROMISED CAMPUS: The Collaboration of Universities With the Intelligence Community, 1945-1955

such college officials and faculty members were more than willing to report to the FBI about colleagues they suspected of being disloyal Americans.

Diamond's theme builds on information already existing in the study of McCarthyism and Hoovermania, which are linked because the senator and the director worked together closely.

The leading expert on domestic surveillance without judicial fiat, Professor Athan Theoharis of Marquette University, obtained thousands of FBI documents and interpreted them in such valuable books as "Spying on Americans" and "From the Secret Files of J. Edgar Hoover." Presidents and presidential aspirants, federal employees, newspapers, networks, film studios, guilds, unions and civil rights leaders all were shown to have FBI files, usually without their knowledge.

Some times spying was done upon an organization's members by its own officials. In the best-known case, Ronald Reagan, while president of the Screen Actors Guild in 1947, served as an informant assigned the code name Agent T-10, for the FBI's Los Angeles office.

In "Compromised Campus," the author devotes special attention to individuals he considers collaborators with the FBI during the early 1950s, based on files he unearched under the Freedom of Information Act. They include, from Harvard, McGeorge Bundy, dean of the faculty of arts and sciences, and Henry A. Kissinger, a teaching fellow who was executive director of an international

COMPROMISED CAMPUS: The Collaboration of Universities With the Intelligence Community, 1945-1955

seminar and William Yandell Elliott, a professor of government described as Kissinger's mentor.

At Yale, the author says Harry B. Fisher, the FBI's liaison on campus, was "an undercover employee of Yale University for 25 years, whose last 15 years of service were devoted mainly to political surveillance."

An unfortunate flaw in "Compromised Campus" is the author's mixture of the personal and the general. The

COMPROMISED CAMPUS: The Collaboration of Universities With the Intelligence Community, 1945-1955

reader sometimes is confused by the leaps between the author's own experience and his broader theme of the existence of an academic-intelligence complex. Yet when Diamond sticks to the documents in the FBI files, he justifies his conclusion that the most eminent colleges collaborated with the intelligence community.

Herbert Mitgang is on the staff of The New York Times.

BEST SELLERS

The New York Times
This list is based on reports from more than 2,000 bookstores throughout the United States. Weeks on list are not necessarily consecutive.

Rank	Title	Author	Weeks on List
1	GERALD'S GAME	Stephen King	1
2	WAITING TO EXHALE	Terry McMillen	2
3	THE PELICAN BRIEF	John Grisham	3
4	POSSESSING THE SECRET OF JOY	by Alice Walker	4
5	SCRIPPLES TWO	by Judith Kerr	5
6	COLONY	by Anne Rivers Siddons	6
7	FATHERLAND	by Robert Harris	7
8	EYE OF THE STORM	by Jack Higgins	8
9	DARK FORCE RISING	by Theodore Sturgeon	9
10	INZANI	by Dante David	10
11	JEWELS	by Danielle Steel	11
12	SAHARA	by Clive Cussler	12
13	ALL AROUND THE TOWN	by Mary Higgins Clark	13
14	OH, THE PLACES YOU'LL GO!	Andrew Morton	14
15	ALL THE PRETTY HORSES, by Diana McCarthy	15	

PEANUTS



BEEBLE BAILEY



CALVIN AND HOBBS



WIZARD OF ID



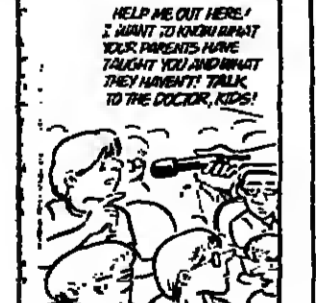
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GARFIELD



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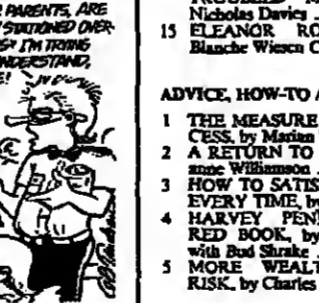
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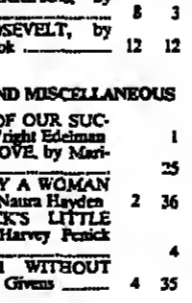
BLONDIE



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REX MORGAN



GARFIELD



REX MORGAN



GARFIELD



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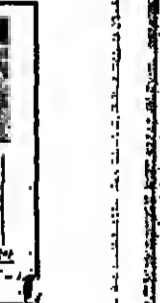
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SPORTS OLYMPICS

Down the Mountain Atlanta Wakes Up — Barcelona Is Tough to Top

By Peter Applebome
New York Times Service

Down the Mountain To Soccer Molehills

LONDON—Coming down from Montjuic, one could barely face the immediacy of Europe's new soccer season. Time and business wait for no man, the soccer is upon us, and the kick off on Saturday will press the case for divorce in households already saturated with the gargantuan television coverage of the Games.

Soccer's part in the Olympics was at best peripheral. It was neither as inspired, nor as corrupt, as some of the main Olympic events. And though soccer eventually drew the largest audience, it could not compare in significance to the wonderful lap of honor of the two African women in the main stadium last Friday night.

Their race, the 10,000 meters, had been a classic. Derarun Tulu, the winner, had stalked Elena Meyer, the silver medalist, lap after lap, feeding off her opponent's front running before surging past at the finish. The runner who played a waiting game won, but the beauty was in the joy that followed.

Meyer is white, and from South Africa. Tulu is black, and from Ethiopia. Their countries were competing in sport for the first time since South Africa was banned three decades ago for its apartheid policies. Nobody can yet say evil is beaten, but the whole world now has a symbol and the hope of sport transcending race.

South African soccer, as it happens, denounced bigotry years ago. Its black population has long adored the game, yet welcomed white participation in the administration and on the field.

There, as in most areas of the globe, last Saturday's Olympic soccer final drew immense television ratings. Spain beat Poland, 3-2, with a goal at the very last gasp in a match fit to set before a king and 95,000 of his subjects.

The gathering reflected nationalistic fervor rather than the lure of underdog teams — an age limit, FIFA said Tuesday, that will remain in force in 1996 — which, on other nights, played in mostly empty stadiums.

Small wonder that FIFA is seriously contemplating asking the IOC to add women's soccer to the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta. The idea comes from Arthur Wall, coordinator for soccer at those Games, who has the sense to see that if Spain cannot fill half the seats for Olympic soccer then the stadiums around Atlanta might look like deserts.

FIFA foisted on Spain a half-baked formula imposing the age limit, barring many of soccer's finest players. It then complained about a lack of promotion leading to the embarrassingly insipid atmosphere at the stadiums.

Art Wall's push for women players makes sense. The United States, the land of winners, ranks nowhere in men's soccer but is world champion in the women's game. Given the chronic over-population at the Olympics, and given FIFA's protectionist attitude toward its own World Cup, might it not be time to give the men a rest and let the women play the soccer in 1996?

The men, poor devils, are overworked and overpaid enough already. In England, they will be back at work on Saturday and, because of TV schedules, the new-season hype is now a palpable nonsense.

We have had league soccer in Britain for 104 years, yet now we superimpose the description "Premier League" on the old first division. We also change the marketing strategy so that, one way or another, the name of the game is to extract more cash from the customer.

ON THE PRETEXT of making the grounds safer, the authorities are inflicting all-seat regulations despite the preference of many fans to stand. With the conversion, capacities are deduced, stadiums have all the attraction of building sites and the price hikes will oblige a regular team follower to pay upward of \$1,900 for his season's entertainment.

If he cannot afford that, his second option is to pay a third as much to buy a dish antenna and a franchise to Sky Sports' exclusive live coverage of Premier League games.

This channel, run by Australians, promises us "A Whole New Ball Game." Sky's head of sports, David Hill, says his television team wants "to educate, inform and explain, as well as question, amuse and entertain."

Sky serves a tiny minority of the soccer public but is banking on the bond between the Brits and their sport to pay as they view. "Our aim," Hill explains, "is to give our viewers the best seat in the house — the chairman's seat. The chairman has access to the best possible view of the game, access to the players, access to the innermost strategic secrets of his team."

One wonders why so many chairmen of these soccer clubs, with so many privileges, display such ignorance and so mismanage their teams to such extent they become virtually bankrupt institutions dependent on television bail money.

Vic Wackling, who will direct Sky's coverage, hails from England's northeast, where most men and many women are soccer fanatics from the cradle up. He says, "Some people think we have a bunch of Aussies in charge who know nothing about football who will start messing around with fixtures and kick off times."

No? Television has already spoiled the traditional habit of Saturday soccer. Sky will screen one live match each Sunday, another on Monday.

Adds Wackling: "We will put a camera on top of a crane covering the whole pitch and with an electronic chalk board we can show you certain players make certain runs and the way a team builds up its moves. We will also have a skills camera focusing on a particular player."

Fine, new technology is there to be used. But the former idea was tried in the late 1960s and abandoned by men who learned that it was best to let the action speak for itself, to be smart with the close-ups of the quality for which English soccer is famous — the raw courage of the center.

Much of this is impulsive rather than calculated. The English soccer brain, foreigners remind us, begins in the toes and terminates at the knees.

Besides, England's stars — Paul Gascoigne, David Platt, Des Walker — are now playing in Italy. And with the rest so exposed in Europe two months ago, the Sky skills camera might be a redundant and dangerous tool.

Indeed Channel 4, the smallest of England's free national networks, will oppose Sky with live broadcasts of Italian league soccer. And once it turns the spotlight on Gascoigne, on Rudi Gullit, Marco van Basten and Roberto Baggio, comparison might be an odious thing.

Rob Hughes is on the staff of the Sunday Times.

Atlanta does have its own charms, ranging from its lovely wooded setting to its Southern hospitality.

And in a city where overachieving is a central part of the local mythology, it's an article of faith there that the 1996 Olympics will be a future-oriented, high-tech pageant of New South prosperity and interracial harmony, able to compete with any host city that came before it.

But it is a rare person here who has watched Barcelona's remarkable combination of rich history, stunning architecture, mountains and sea and not wondered, as The Atlanta Constitution did in an editorial the other day, "How on earth is Atlanta going to measure up to Barcelona by 1996?"

News reports here have been full of gushing references to Barcelona, and Atlanta officials have been peppered with

questions about how their city will measure up. In response, local officials have been quick to say that every city brings something different to the Olympics. Los Angeles, after all, had a successful Olympics eight years ago without anything resembling the history, culture or natural surroundings of Barcelona.

"You don't need a Montjuic or a Mediterranean Sea to put on a memorable Games," Billy Payne, president of the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games, said in Barcelona. "What we've concluded is you do everything your own way."

Atlanta does have its share of fine restaurants, and one thing that most of Barcelona lacks — air conditioning.

"Underground Atlanta is not a bad tourist attraction," said Bob Steed, a local lawyer and author, referring to a down-

town shopping and entertainment complex as he tried to come up with Atlanta's answer to the Placa d'Espanya or the Plaza Nacional.

"There's the Coca-Cola Museum. And I take foreign guests to the Varsity all the time. They marvel at it."

And even if Atlanta's architecture doesn't quite match Barcelona's, some Atlantans believe that Barcelona is out a bad point of departure at all for the Atlanta Games, the last Olympics of the 20th century.

"Barcelona represents the past, Atlanta represents the future," said the Reverend Joseph E. Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. "I think we have a lot to offer that will represent what the future will be like, particularly the multiracial elements of Atlanta."

At the least, the 1996 Games figure to portray an image of the South far more contemporary than the bowery "Gone With the Wind" images that linger on.

Claiborne Darden, a local political consultant, said that just as Atlanta's designation two years ago as the 1996 host of the Games showed the degree to which the city and the South had come of age, when all is said and done Atlanta will fare just fine.

"It's going to be the New South Olympics," said Mr. Darden. "The modern progressive South that is no longer a string of 1948 8N Ford tractors, perhaps with a dignified thumb of the nose at the Rust Belt. You know what they say: Don't get mad..."

Johnson Edging Closer to Return To NBA Lakers

The Associated Press

LOS ANGELES — It appears more and more likely that Magic Johnson will be playing again for the Los Angeles Lakers of the National Basketball Association next season.

"What's going to happen is my wife and I are going to sit down and we're going to talk about it and see," Johnson said Monday night on "The Arsenio Hall Show." "It all depends on if I feel like coming back. That's all."

Johnson, who turns 33 on Friday, said on the television show he would consult with his doctor to determine how many games he could play if he were to return — but not to ask his doctor's permission.

"If I decide to come back, we have to get together and say, O.K., 60 games, 70 games, 80, that whole thing," he said. "Not the fact on whether or not to come back. That's all my own decision."

The 10-time NBA All-Star said his wife, Cookie, initially was against him playing professional basketball again. He retired nine months ago after learning he had the virus that causes AIDS.

"The doctor as we both got educated and found out that everything was going good and we knew what it's going to take for me to be here with you and her for a long time, then she said O.K.," Johnson said.

"And I know I'm healthy, I'm strong, I'm ready to go. And now it's just deciding whether I want to do that for another year or two or if I just want to stay a businessman and just enjoy hanging out with you and my wife and my son and so on."

The Lakers' general manager, Jerry West, on KABC's "Monday Night Live" show, said that "I think it's solely Ervin's decision, what he wants to do. We've stated all along we want what's best for Ervin Johnson. If playing basketball is part of it, then we embrace it."

Johnson's doctor, David Ho, said on the same radio show that if Johnson "decides to come back, he's going to play and play hard. The question is, is that in his best interest?"

The doctor said the decision belongs to Johnson. "It depends on how he feels. I assume he continues to feel fine. He looked well in Barcelona," he said.



Maybe there aren't any 13th-century cathedrals, but Atlanta does have monuments like the Varsity, the drive-in where Atlantans go for their quotient of greasy burgers. And, there will be Whisitt, above, although it is not to everybody's taste as a mascot.

Young Follows Record With Win In Monte Carlo

Reuters

MONTE CARLO — Kevin Young of the United States gave an escort Tuesday to his 400-meter hurdles world record in Barcelona when he raced to victory at a Grand Prix meet.

Five days after smashing Ed Moses' nine-year-old world record, Young raced around the Stade Louis II track in 47.60 seconds. That was 0.82 seconds outside his record, but was still faster than anyone else has achieved this season.

With a top-level field that made it a virtual repeat of the Olympic final, Young got away to a fast start with silver medalist Winthrop Graham of Jamaica keeping with him stride for stride until they came out of the final bend.

Graham finished in 48.22. World champion Samuel Mateo of Zambia, disqualified in the Olympics after hitting a hurdle in the adjacent lane, was third in 48.38.

In the women's 400 hurdles, world champion Tatjana Ledovskaya of Belarus, fourth in Barcelona, edged out silver medalist Sandra Farmer-Patrick of the United States by one-hundredth of a second in 53.53.

It was a time that has been beaten this year by only Sally Gunnell of Britain when she won gold in Barcelona. She was not competing in Monte Carlo.

Frankie Fredericks of Namibia, the fastest man in Africa, won the men's 200, coming from fourth place out of the bend to storm through in 20.18 seconds. Fredericks, the silver medalist in both Olympic sprints, beat European champion John Regis of Britain, who second in 20.26.

Leroy Burrell, a member of the world record-breaking U.S. 4x100-meter relay team, was a distant sixth in 20.66 seconds.

Merlene Ottey of Jamaica, surprisingly beaten in both Olympic women's sprints, was on the losing end again in the 200 meters, but only just.

Irina Privalova of Russia, the 100-meter bronze medalist, won in 22.07 seconds withONEY 0.01 seconds behind.

Olympic 400-meter champion Mario-José Pérez of France was third in 22.29. She was one of 12 gold medalists from Barcelona taking part in the meet.

There was defeat for another Olympic champion when Cuban discus thrower Maritza Marten was third with a best of 67.42 meters in an event won by Larissa Korotkevich of the CIS with 69.30.

SCOREBOARD

BASEBALL

Major League Standings

AMERICAN LEAGUE			
East Division			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Toronto	44	39	.529
Baltimore	43	40	.520
Minnesota	40	43	.482
Seattle	39	44	.473
Detroit	33	50	.398
New York	21	62	.256
Cleveland	20	63	.244
West Division			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Oakland	44	39	.529
Albuquerque	40	43	.482
Chicago	37	46	.445
Los Angeles	37	46	.445
Kansas City	30	53	.366
California	29	54	.350
Seattle	14	69	.171

NATIONAL LEAGUE

East Division			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Pittsburgh	41	42	.494
Montreal	41	42	.494
Chicago	38	45	.457
New York	37	46	.445
St. Louis	31	52	.373
Philadelphia	27	56	.329
West Division			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Atlanta	47	43	.521
San Diego	42	48	.467
San Francisco	33	57	.367
Houston	28	62	.308
Los Angeles	17	73	.189

Monday's Line Scores

AMERICAN LEAGUE			
Baltimore	9	5	0
Toronto	2	2	1
Minnesota	7	2	0
Seattle	1	0	0
Chicago	1	0	0
New York	1	0	0
Philadelphia	1	0	0
St. Louis	1	0	0
Detroit	1	0	0
Cleveland	1	0	0
Los Angeles	1	0	0
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